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ABSTRACT

In order to investigate the effects of dialect interference on learning to read and the ways teachers accommodate reading instruction for first grade black children, observations and tape recordings were made of reading instruction in fourteen predominantly black classrooms, showing episodes of potential dialect conflict and six teaching styles: vocabulary approach, decoding approach, standard pronunciation approach, white liberal approach, black artful approach, and interrupting approach. A dialect measure was administered to 208 black children and reading test scores were obtained, while teachers were placed in accommodation or interference groups and in teaching style groups. The black artful group had significantly higher reading scores than the interrupting and white liberal groups, and significantly lower dialect scores than the interrupting and vocabulary groups. There was a significant negative correlation between dialect and reading scores for all groups. Black artful teachers were high on task orientation and mutuality of communication and interrupting teachers were low on both dimensions. (Author/JM)

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Black Dialect Interference and Accommodation of Reading Instruction in First Grade

Ann McCormick Piestrup

Originally a dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education in the Graduate Division of the University of California, Berkeley

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Accommodation of Reading Instruction for First Grade Children Who Speak Black Dialect

Abstract

Ann McCormick Piestrup

The purpose of this study was to investigate the effects of dialect interference on learning to read and the ways teachers accommodate reading instruction for first grade Black children.

Two investigators observed and tape-recorded reading instruction in fourteen predominantly Black classrooms. From tapes and notes, episodes of potential dialect conflict were excerpted and categorized, and six teaching styles defined: Vocabulary Approach, Decoding Approach, Standard Pronunciation Approach, White Liberal Approach, Black Artful Approach, and Interrupting Approach.

A sentence repetition task was administered as a dialect measure to 208 Black children and Cooperative Primary Reading Test scores obtained from school records.

The two classroom observers placed teachers in accommodation or interference groups and in teaching style groups. Independent ratings agreed for all teachers.

Tests of homogeneity of regression showed no interaction between Black dialect and reading scores for teacher groups. An analysis of

variance showed that both reading and dialect scores differed for children in classrooms grouped by teacher style. The Black Artful group had significantly higher reading scores than the Interrupting and White Liberal groups, and significantly lower dialect scores than the Interrupting and Vocabulary groups. There was a significant negative correlation between dialect and reading scores for all groups.

From classroom observations, 104 episodes were drawn to illustrate structural and functional conflict as well as different teacher styles.

Teachers in the Black Artful group used rhythmic play in instruction and encouraged children to participate by listening to their responses. They attended to vocabulary differences of Black children and seemed to prevent structural conflict by teaching children to listen for standard English sound distinctions. Children taught with this approach participated enthusiastically with the teacher in learning to read.

In contrast, teachers in the Interrupting group asked children to repeat words pronounced in dialect many times and interpreted dialect pronunciations as reading errors. Teachers in this group presented standard English sounds for discrimination without insuring accuracy of responses. Some children from this group tediously worked alone at decoding without reading as if they understood; others seemed to guess at almost as many words as they were able to read. Some children withdrew from participation in reading, speaking softly and as seldom as possible; others engaged in ritual insult and other forms of verbal play apart from the teacher. For

children taught by Interrupting teachers, reading scores were lower and dialect scroes higher than for the Black Artful group.

White Liberal teachers occasionally used dialect intonation and phonology during instruction and accepted dialect forms in children's writing and speech. They gave auditory discrimination training without presenting dialect homonyms out of context. They seemed to emphasize friendly communication more than the task of learning to read; reading scores were significantly lower for this group than for the Black Artful group.

The Standard Pronunciation Emphasis teachers insisted on formal standard usage, devoting considerable time to changing language patterns during instruction. Reading and dialect scores were not significantly different from other groups. This approach was more effective with children who did not use much dialect than with children who used a great deal.

Vocabulary Approach teachers explained meanings of unfamiliar words, especially clarifying distinctions between the meanings of dialect homonyms. Children in this group had significantly higher dialect scores than the Black Artful group.

Decoding Approach teachers emphasized sound-symbol correspondence, giving special attention to ending sounds and medial vowels. They accepted flat, choppy reading. Children consistently attempted to sound out words but seemed to decode without comprehension.

Two dimensions were used to contrast the six teaching sytles: (1) task orientation, involving children directly in reading and (2) mutuality of communication with teachers and children sharing purpose and meaning in communication.

The Black Artful teachers were high on both of these dimensions and the Interrupting teachers low on both.

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Chapter I

Reading Failure and Dialect: Their Relation to Instruction

Concern over reading failure in ghetto schools has recently drawn attention to variations in the language patterns of Black school children. While there is considerable evidence that both reading failure and dialect differences occur in ghetto schools, there is little more than speculation about whether dialect differences make learning to read more difficult for Black children and about how teachers could ease possible difficulties. This study explores the relationship of Black dialect and initial reading for children taught with different approaches. Observers visited first grade classrooms in predominantly Black schools to investigate what kinds of dialect interference occurs and the ways teachers accommodate instruction to prevent or quickly resolve Black children's reading problems. Teaching styles for dealing with dialect differences are compared, descriptively by using episodes of classroom instruction and quantitatively by analyzing reading and dialect scores for children in each group.

In this chapter, what is meant by dialect interference and teacher accommodation will be described. In addition, the study will be related to three approaches

to investigating Black language and reading. The earliest approach treated disadvantaged children's language as deficient and associated it with cognitive disability. Even though there is no evidence to support this position, it is important because it is held by many psychologists and continues to be the basis of a number of intervention programs.

Later research focused on the language differences of Black children, treating dialect as an adequate, even though different system from the standard English of the school. Comparative analyses of Black dialect and standard English form the basis for "difference" theorists' recommendations concerning changes in the materials and procedures of reading instruction, including procedures to use in eliminating dialect.

This study draws on descriptive analyses of dialect to describe situations in which structural conflict might arise. It also considers classroom interaction from a third, sociolinguistic perspective to anticipate the variability of children's speech in different social contexts and the functional conflicts which might arise between teachers and children from different cultures.

Description of Accommodation and Interference

Structural Conflict

There are systematic ways that many Black children's speech differs from the standard English of the school. Goodman (1969) hypothesized that "the more divergence there is between the dialect of the learner and the dialect of learning, the more difficult will be the task of learning to read." The divergence results in problems concerning the content of instruction as well as the attitudes and feelings of teachers and children. Labov (1969) defines structural conflict as "interference with learning ability stemming from a mismatch of linguistic structures." Structural conflict is evident in the following dialogue, in which a teacher read from a workbook:

T '. . . how would you harm the colt?'

C_1 Tear it.

T Huh?

C_1 Tear it.

T Th--th--Oh! Do you, do you know what a colt is, now?

C_1 Oh, kill it, kill it!

T No, what's a colt?

C_1 Somethin' you wear. (Episode 18)

The child interpreted the word "colt" as "somethin' you wear," or "coat." One feature of Black

dialect is deletion of the "l" sound, making "coat" and "colt" homonyms. There is a linguistic mismatch or interference between the child's system and that of the school. The conflict is not an insurmountable barrier, but a brief misunderstanding. The teacher's handling of the situation, then, is extremely important. The teacher could ignore the initial response (you harm a colt by tearing it) and call on another child for a correct answer, which would probably not resolve the structural interference for the first child. Or she could accommodate her instruction for the dialect-speaking child.

Teacher Accommodation

In the continuation of the episode, the teacher accommodated her instruction by explicitly dealing with the dialect conflict:

T There's an 'l' in it. "Coat" is c-o-a-ah--don't laugh, that's all right. "Colt" is very hard for city children, because they haven't been out on the farm, and they don't know about it. It's a baby, a baby colt.

C_3 A baby colt.

C_1 Oh yeah!

T Remember the story? an' it's a c-o-l-t. "Coat" is c-o-a-t, and it's no 'l' in it, but listen to--Keisha--colt, colt, colt. Now, do you know what a colt is?

C_4 Yeah, I know.

T What is it?

C_2 A oaby horse.

T Yes, uh-huh, how could you harm a baby horse?

C_1 You shoot it.

T Heh, you c'--that would certainly harm it. But harm doesn't always mean being killed.

C_1 You try to get on it an' ride it.

T Well, if it weren't ready, yes. If it were too young to ride.

C_1 It'll fall.

The teacher clarified the structural conflict by spelling, pronouncing and eliciting a definition of "colt" to distinguish it from "coat." But perhaps more crucial than clarification of the structural conflict is the teacher's effort at keeping the children involved in learning. She discouraged ridicule, saying, ". . . don't laugh, that's all right." She specifically involved Keisha (C1), calling her by name to attend to the sound of co<u>l</u>t. She then returned promptly to the lesson and continued to involve Keisha in the discussion. This aspect of accommodation prevented functional conflict from occurring.

Functional Conflict

Labov (1969) defines functional conflict of standard and nonstandard English as "interference with the desire to learn standard English stemming from a mismatch in the functions which standard English serve in a given culture." The following excerpt from an oral reading lesson is an example of functional conflict in which involvement in learning to read was lacking:

T 'Off'

C_1 'Off to the--

T OK. It says 'wood.'

C_1 -- wood.'

T We would say woods--this book was written in England.

C

C_1 Now, I'm througn. I ain't gonna read this page again.

T OK. Well, we're gonna turn the page and we're just gonna read the next page.

C_1 Uh uh! Darren 'sposed to be first.

T Well, I'm waiting for Darren to come back. Come on, Darren.

C_2 He's a awww.

T Come on. If you can't find your glasses we'll do without them this time.

C_2 Come on, awww.

C_3 I can't find 'em.

T Well then, come back and sit down.

C_2 You can. He just playin' aroun' _____ (not clear).

C_1 He crack his knuckles, in the buckles.

C_2 Uh-uh.

T OK, Zip and Wendy ran to the woods, and here's the --

C_1 I got a tow truck. My mama bought me one.

T -- father.

C_1 An' I got me a car to hook it on. It got a hook --

(Episode 4)

The children are not involved in the lesson. The content is remote and the teacher is not communicating well with the children. She ignores most of what they say and continues as if the children were focused on the lesson. Besides a usual sort of resistance, "D..ren 'sposed to be first," the children start a special form, verbal play, as in

"He crack his knuckles
In the buckles"

and

"I gotme a tow truck
My mama bought me one
An' I got me a car to hook it on
It got a hook . . ."

This is not just said; it is almost sung, with lilting intonation; the lesson is ignored. Later the teacher is excluded explicitly as the children define group membership in their verbal play. The teacher has set aside the reading book and is writing what the children say, as in an experience story.

C_1 I got me a tow truck. (Giggles.)

$C_{2,3}$ Tow truck, tow truck

T (Writes on large paper) 'I got me a --

C_3 Tow, the one you put your toes in?

C_1 No!

T Tow. It does sound like --

C_1 A car, a truck dat pull a car. That's craz', stup'!

T 'I got me a tow truck;' what else?

C_1 I' pull a car.

C_2 (Giggles.)

T It pull<u>s</u> a car?

C_1 Yeah.

T 'I got.' can you read it yourself?

C_1 No.

(Episode 62)

The children chant, "tow truck, tow truck," then play with the word "tow." The mischievous intonation of "Is that the kind you put your toes in?" marks it as further verbal play. When the teacher notes the similarity in sound, "Tow, it does sound like--," she is cut off and the children continue apart from her. The function of their speech is maintaining peer status, not learning to read.

The teacher also standardizes what the children say, "It pull<u>s</u> a car?", as she writes it for them. In selecting acceptable material to write she loses the

flavor of what the children are doing. She also defines her separateness from the children. In the end, C1 refuses to read even his own words. There has been a functional conflict.

Maintaining involvement in learning is part of good teaching in general, but there are ways teaching can fail that are specifically related to dialect--to both structural and functional conflict between the language of the child and that of the school. The first objective of this study, then, is to describe actual occurrences of dialect interference and teacher accommodation.

The second objective is to determine the impact of teacher accommodation on dialect and reading scores.

Teaching Styles

While teachers may be divided into two groups, those who handle dialect differences effectively and those who do not, distinguishing styles of dealing with dialect could provide more information about what accounts for differences in reading and dialect scores.

Every teacher has an approach to instruction that is consistent with her personal style of interaction. There are, however, emphases that several teachers may have in common in their way of dealing with dialect differences. Some teachers, explicitly aware of dialect, might spend a considerable amount of time

during reading instruction attempting to change the way Black children pronounce words. Another group of teachers, also aware of dialect, might capitalize on the verbal art of the children and encourage lilting chants related to the lesson, or listen appreciatively as children engage in ritual insult on a story character.

The styles teachers use with dialect-speaking children could be described by a constellation of behaviors unique to the teachers in a group. Whether teaching styles can be formulated and described from observational data is another question in this study. The impact of the teaching styles on children's dialect and reading scores is a final research question.

The Poverty Cycle and Language Theory

Black children's language has attracted attention for reasons other than those specifically related to reading proficiency. Williams (1971) relates the efforts of cognitive deficit and linguistic difference theorists to the War on Poverty of the 1960's. Educational interventions were considered an important means of breaking the poverty cycle.

Deficit Position

Some theorists, arguing from the failure of Black children in school and ignoring the evidence of universals of language acquisition, regard the speech of young Black children as inherently inferior as a

means of communication and as a vehicle of thought. Bereiter and Englemann (1966) state that the language of ghetto children entering their preschool "is not merely an underdeveloped version of standard English, but is basically a non-logical mode of expressive behavior." Their programs treat children entering preschool as if they had no language at all. Black children's language is described as "a series of emotional cries." The children are said to communicate with gestures, single words and "a series of badly connected words and phrases." They are, in other words, without a command of a grammatical system.

Bersnteins' work in England formed a theoretical framework for "cultural deficit" theorists, although he has objected to some of the interpretations of his own work. Bernstein (1970) describes two codes of speech, the restricted code, with highly particularistic orders of meaning, and the elaborated code, with universalistic meanings which are not so context bound. A code of speech refers to the transmissions of deep meaning structure from which linguistic choices are made.

Bernstein interprets his research to say that social classes differ in the contexts which evoke certain linguistic realizations and that middle class mothers place greater emphasis on the use of language in the socializing of children than working class mothers. So there is a restriction on the contexts and

conditions which will orient the working class child to the linguistic choice of being explicit. Bernstein makes the point that there is no implicit connection between dialect use and a restricted code of speech, however.

Drawing on the work of Bernstein, several researchers in this country have looked for evidence that lower class children are deficient in their ability to produce syntactically elaborated speech. Hess and Shipman (1965), posed the hypothesis that behavior leading to poverty is socialized in early childhood, and that the central factor affecting cultural deprivation is lack of cognitive meaning in the mother-child communication system. They found differences associated with socioeconomic status in the explicitness with which mothers communicated information needed by their child for tasks. The mothers, who relied on public welfare assistance were, however, tested in an unfamiliar university setting. The "imperative" interaction style noted by the researchers may have largely been a reflection of the social setting rather than of the style these mothers use in a more natural setting.

Many tests of "disadvantaged" children's speech leads to underestimation of their ability. The Hess and Shipman study illustrates one way measures taken in highly constrained social settings can be equated with limits of ability.

Cazden (1967) distinguishes two levels of linguistic performance. What a person can do is constrained by such psychological factors as attention and memory. What a person does do is constrained by such sociological factors as setting, topic and participants. The interpersonal constraints (of the social setting) on speech can be confused with the intrapersonal constraints (of ability) on speech. Labov (1970) emphasizes that if you want to know what a child can do, you must enter into the right social relationship with him.

Testing itself, then, is subject to both structural and functional conflict for dialect speakers. Ammon (1971) discusses one result of functional conflict during testing. Children, reticent to speak with a strange adult, may frequently answer, "I don't know." When coded, this answer may be judged as organized at a very simple level. It has no modifiers, conjunctive clauses or other features that may improve a syntactic elaboration score.

Labov (1970) uses an example from a sentence repetition task to illustrate how a dialect speaker may be said to lack elements of a coherent linguistic system. Asked to repeat the sentence: "I asked Alvin if he knew how to play basketball," a dialect speaker said, "I axed Alvin, did he know how to play basketball." The speaker clearly understood the underlying

logic of the sentence. Since he did not repeat the conditional "if" he could be misjudged as lacking the logic of "if--then" statements, that is, lacking cognitive as well as linguistic competence.

In the "Clown and Rocket" technique employed by Deutsch (1967), "research was not focused on phonemic patterns or dialect." It was concluded, from a standard English speaking transcriber's record of tape recorded speech, that the lower class children's speech "was organized at a much simpler level," in variety of verbs, complexity of verb stems and complexity of organization. But ignoring differences in the ways dialect speakers use verbs, verb stems, etc., is precisely what made such a faulty conclusion possible. Results obtained from a measure which does not take into consideration the stylistic differences of Black children, or does not assure that the content and context of its administration is appropriate, cannot be accepted as evidence of linguistic deficit.

Researchers who emphasize the universality of language competence question the validity of even hypothesizing such a thing as linguistic deficit. Nearly all children learn to speak by age three. Within a very short time, they command the rules of language and are able to produce and understand original combinations of words. According to Premack and Schwartz (1969), no differences have been found between retarded and

normal children's grammar except in cases of extreme retardation, i.e., IQ below 50. Similarities across cultural groups in development of grammatical production have been described by Slobin (1970) and by Gumperz and Hernandez (1969). There is no such thing as a primitive language; Black dialect is no exception.

Difference Position

Comprehensive studies of Black dialect conducted by Labov et al. (1968), Wolfram (1969) and Fasold (1970) found similarities in Black speech in several geographically diverse urban areas. Black English has much in common with standard, formal English but in some linguistic contexts calls for sytematic variations in phonology, morphology and syntax.[1] (See Appendix A)

Dialect is also marked by special intonation patterns and vocabulary. Goodman (1969) describes how inflection can express tense, plurals, and other forms. McDavid (1969) discusses Black stress, intonation, transitions and terminals as well as Black paralanguage and kinesics. Use of these, like other dialect forms, is associated with cultural differences. In general,

[1]The distinction between phonological and grammatical features is not clear. Labov (1969) describes how phonological reduction rules can have grammatical correlates. For example, both "passes" and "past" may be pronounced "pass." A standard English speaking teacher hears a change in tense in the passed-pass reduction, and considers it as a grammatical error, while she overlooks the past-pass reduction, for instance, in oral reading.

more extensive dialect use is associated with lower socioeconomic status.

There have been a great many recommendations about how teachers should modify instruction to deal with dialect interference. Some of the recommendations are founded more on assumptions about the social consequences of dialect use than on evidence on ways to improve reading.

Teach standard English. According to Kernan (1971), some Black informants consider dialect a stigma, referring to it as country-flat-bad English, as opposed to good, proper English. Black parents have expressed concern that dialect is a block to the upward mobility of their children. They expect the schools to teach standard English. Bartley and Politzer (1972) have developed materials to train teachers in the use of pattern practice and drill with dialect-speaking children. They apply English as a Second Language (ESL) techniques to dialect in an attempt to broaden Black children's options, so they can use standard English in some situations, such as job interviews. They do not advocate using these techniques as a basis for initial reading, however. Rystrom, Farris and Smith (1968) have also written ESL materials for dialect speakers. These have not proven effective either for changing speech or for improving

reading.

Kochman (1969) and Sledd (1969) object to attempts to teach standard English because dialect is an expression of cultural identity; eliminating it in school is "arrogant ethnocentrism" or "white racism." This broad issue of the social impact of dialect use is beyond the scope of this study, which is focused only on the effects of dialect use on learning initial reading.

Teach reading in dialect. Some "difference" theorists have recommended teaching initial reading from books written in dialect. Baratz (1969) has written reading materials in dialect but the materials have been criticized because some dialect forms are inserted in unlikely linguistic contexts. The materials also solidify forms which are inherently variable. There is no evidence yet that these materials improve reading proficiency either.

Attempts at both changing the language of the child and that of the books have been global rather than diagnostic. They imply that Black dialect is like a separate language from English, and that language can be accurately represented in print. But dialect in print is likely to be oversimplified or stereotyped as it loses its range of variability, perhaps to an even greater extent than standard English.

Accommodate instruction. Other recommendations are addressed at specific difficulties Black children might have in learning reading from standard English teachers and materials.

When teachers and children use language systems that differ only slightly, they can assume they are understanding each other when they are not. For example, in a first grade classroom, a teacher presented words on cards, varying only the initial consonants.

T	(Holds up a card with 'wow' written on it.)
CLASS	WOW!
T	When would you say 'wow?'
C_1	When you got some wil', wil' clothes.
T	Well, you might say 'wow' if you had on bright clothes. What about this one?

In this section of the episode, "wow" and "wild" were confused. The child would probably continue to read "wow" as "wild," and the teacher did not seem to recognize the difficulty.

T	(Holds up a card with 'cow' written on it.)
CLASS	COW!
T	How about a sentence?
C_1	When it be co' you freeze to death.
T	What does it eat?
C_2	Flowers.
T	It does?

C_3 Grass.

T It does?

C_4 Weeds.

T Then what is it?

CLASS An an-i-mal!

T Right!

In this section, the teacher and some class members recognized the confusion between "cow" and "cold," but the distinction was not made explicit for the child (C1) who was confused in the beginning. She may or may not have known how to read "cow" at the end of this section of the lesson.

Later in the lesson a distinction in meaning was explained.

T (Holds up a card with 'drake' written on it.)

C_1 A drake is like curtains.

T No that's 'drape'; a drake is a father duck.

These examples illustrate how dialect-speaking children might become confused about the ends of words, and stop trying to sound out words.

In another episode, the teacher at first misunderstood a child because of his pronunciation of "r."

T Who can give me a word that begins with 'h'?

C_1 Happy.

T Happy, good. (Writes it on the board.)

C_2 House.

T House! That's a good one, too. (Writes it down under 'happy'.)

C_3 (W)hor.'

T (Looking deliberately cool, pauses briefly.)

C_3 Like you go to a hor' movie.

T Oh! Horror! Yes. (Writes it.)

In this episode, the teacher initially misunderstood what the child meant but probably figured it out before the child realized the teacher was hearing "whore" in place of "horror." These episodes show how confusion can arise when dialect forms are presented in isolation. Recommendations for dealing with this and a number of other dialect-related problems are listed in Chapter II.

Sociocultural Position

Even within one social stratum, dialect features are not used uniformly; rules for their application are subtle and complex. Hymes (1967) describes some of the factors that influence speech variation. Children, like adults, have a repertoire of styles to use in different social contexts. They use dialect to define group membership or exclusion and to express the tone

or spirit of an occasion. Black dialect is characterized by unique art forms such as sounding, marking, rapping and running it down. Language is used playfully in ritual insult as a means of gaining and maintaining status in groups. Kochman (1969) describes some of these artful forms of dialect and their functions.

Sociolinguists distinguish communicative competence, or ability to select forms which appropriately reflect the social norms governing behavior in specific encounters from linguistic competence, the ability to produce grammatically correct utterances. Special intonations, in-group terminologies and abbreviated forms help define who belongs to a group and who does not, which in a classroom may mean that the teacher and children define their separateness by using or ignoring dialect forms.

Gumperz (1970) describes how subtle shifts in style distinguishes communication with group members from that with outsiders. He also illustrates how a teacher changes styles with the slow and fast reading groups in her classroom, speaking slowly and deliberately with one group and with animation with the other.

Studying the functions language serves in the classroom leads to recognition of how subtle changes in speech can communicate to a child that he is considered to be "lacking in potential." Rist (1970) describes how

degree and type of verbalization, social information available to kindergarten teachers, along with the children's dress, mannerisms, physical appearance, and performance on some tasks entered into a labeling system in an all Black school. The labels (e.g., "slow learner") were finalized after a few days of school and persisted over the three years of Rist's observations. Teachers arranged seating in accordance with children's "potential" and systematically ignored lower status children, not giving them a chance to verbalize what they knew. Clearly, labeled children would have more difficulty learning to read than those favored with the teacher's attention. This labeling process is a dimension underlying teachers' ways of dealing with dialect differences. Unfavorable attitudes or labels may be implicit in teachers' failure to accommodate instruction for dialect speakers. If they believe children lack potential, they may not seek ways of helping them when there is linguistic conflict.

Many teachers of Black children as yet have no systematic knowledge of Black English and some may be reluctant to recognize that it has rules. Their negative attitudes toward "bad grammar" may be applied to young speakers of dialect. It seems even more unlikely that teachers unaware of Black culture and language would recognize the forms Black children use in defining group membership, which could include the teacher in

some situations. In fact, if the functions language serves for teachers and children are at odds, it is difficult to see how a teacher can effectively guide the children's learning to read.

A Word About the Research Method

This study is exploratory. At this stage of the investigation of dialect, reading and instruction, much of the theory and practice is based on misinformation, bias or well-intentioned speculation. This study employs broad hypotheses and an open investigative method because there is such a lack of empirical evidence on dialect and reading in actual classrooms. While an investigator always brings subjective factors to bear in conducting research, this is especially the case in the approach used in this study. It would have been possible to abstract some aspects of instruction to incorporate them into a system, such as a programmed sequence, and to study the effects of controlled variation. But the results would reveal very little, if anything, about real classroom conflict.

Polanyi (1969) discusses how even in the physical sciences tacit understanding on the part of the human observer is critical, for example, when used by a biologist in recognizing subtle features in a strain of hedgehogs, or by a chemist using his sense of smell. Similarly in this study, excerpts from

instruction are categorized in a way which would be difficult to describe explicitly. The episodes are not "objective" units or precision measurements.

Limits on the objective description of human interaction seem parallel to the limits on atomic description. According to Heisenberg's Uncertainty Principle, limiting the position of an atom until its exact location is determined progressively increases the uncertainty about the momentum (mass x velocity) of the atom until it reaches infinity. Achieving zero uncertainty for one quantity necessarily leads to loss of all information about the other. In human interaction limiting the context of interaction leads to loss of information about the meaning and impact of communication. Presenting raw communication would likewise be meaningless. However, selecting episodes of dialect interference and teacher accommodation and grouping them by teaching styles leaves open the possibility of identifying how Black children are helped or hindered in learning to read. Quantitative data (reading and dialect scores) can then be used to test the effectiveness of different strategies for dealing with dialect differences.

Summary

Two kinds of interference with learning were discussed in this chapter: structural interference in which there is a mismatch of linguistic structures leading to misunderstanding or confusion, and functional interference in which children's desire to learn is interrupted because of a mismatch of the functions language serves in different social contexts. This investigation uses an observational approach to determine what kinds of interference occur and the ways in which teachers accommodate instruction for dialect-speaking children.

The chapter also briefly discussed the deficit position, that disadvantaged children's speech is structurally inferior; the "difference" position, that dialect is separate but equal to standard English, and the sociolinguistic position, that emphasizes the functions language serves in different social contexts. The study draws on descriptive analyses of "difference" theorists to anticipate structural conflict and on the sociolinguistic emphasis to anticipate functional conflict.

Chapter II

Method

In this chapter the research hypotheses, subjects, observation and teacher grouping procedures, and the reading and dialect measures will be described.

Research Hypotheses

The purpose of this investigation was to study reading instruction for first grade children who speak Black dialect, specifically:

1. Whether the kinds of dialect interference proposed in the literature occur during reading instruction,
2. Whether teachers accommodate instruction for dialect speakers in predominantly Black schools,
3. Whether distinct teaching styles or approaches to handling dialect differences can be identified,
4. Whether the relationship between dialect and reading scores differs for children in accommodation and interference groups,
5. Whether accommodation of instruction is associated with differences in dialect and reading score means,
6. Whether the relationship between dialect

and reading scores differs for children taught with different teaching styles and

7. Whether teaching styles are associated with differences in dialect and reading score means.

The first three questions were approached through observation and description of what occurred in classrooms. The other four questions were approached quantitatively by comparing regression lines of reading and dialect scores for various groups, and by using analysis of variance.

Subjects

First graders in 14 predominantly Black classrooms were selected for the study. The investigator randomly selected 15 children from each classroom for inclusion in the quantitative analysis. Non-Black children, or those with serious speech problems, were identified by the teacher or by the investigator and replaced. There were no controls for sex, ability, or other variables which might influence reading, as these were assumed to be randomly distributed.

The study focused on first graders for several reasons: first, to minimize the effects of children's experience with different reading teachers; second, to focus on initial reading skills before sound-symbol correspondence has been fully established. The presence of conflicting sound systems would seem to have more

impact at this initial stage. Finally, reading success in first grade is extremely important for a child's continued success in school.

The use of first graders introduced a problem, however. Some dialect forms correspond to developmental variations in six year old children's speech. These forms were taken into consideration in formulating the dialect test.

Besides the choice to use first graders, it seemed necessary to choose between conducting the study in integrated or predominantly Black schools, as quite different factors could influence results. In integrated schools, children would have more exposure to different linguistic styles; dialect might be the dominant form for some functions and standard English for others, for children of all races. Predominantly Black schools where a sufficient number of dialect-speaking children would be concentrated in each classroom seemed a more likely context in which to observe dialect interference.

This study was conducted in four schools in Oakland, California. Three of the schools served adjacent geographical areas in low to lower-middle socioeconomic status neighborhoods.[1] The fourth school was in a redevelopment area nearer the central city.

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[1] Socioeconomic indicators for the four schools are listed in Chapter IV.

All the schools had special programs to improve reading. There were classrooms served by the Follow Through Program and Reading Specialists. There were teaching machines and listening centers for reading. Several classrooms were using the Open Court Reading Series as part of a performance contract. There were no classrooms where reading was not a major emphasis.

The investigator described the purpose and procedures of the study to the school principals, who then asked the first grade teachers if they would agree to have a visitor during reading and to release children briefly for testing. Teachers were told that the study was an investigation of Black children's dialect and reading. Those who agreed to participate included ten Caucasian, one Oriental and three Black teachers. No controls for overall teacher effectiveness were employed because one aim of the study was to determine what contributed to effectiveness with Black dialect-speaking children. All teachers who agreed to participate were included, with the exception of one first year teacher who was having considerable difficulty with her class. Several children remained at the back of the room, rolling up in a large rug. Many of the children passed the time with their heads down, coloring or eating the candy used as a reward for cooperation. A few were engaged in yelling, throwing chairs, and occasionally running out of the room. Children's scores from this

room could not profitably be compared with those of children in the other 14 classrooms.

Classroom Observation

A review of techniques employed in analysis of classroom interactions, such as those listed in Mirrors for Behavior (1967-70), indicated that most methods focus on categorizing content and participants in disjointed segments of speech, taken at timed intervals. In this study, a less structured approach to observing teaching was used. The unit of interaction was loosely defined as an episode, a coherent, natural unit of speech. Where an episode begins and ends is somewhat arbitrary; the categories into which episodes are placed define their length. For example, a child may delete final -ed in oral reading, be "corrected," repeat the form and go on reading, then misread another word because it is not part of his vocabulary. This could be considered one broadly defined episode--"oral reading mistakes associated with linguistic-cultural differences," or two separate episodes, one dealing with pronunciation, the other with vocabulary.

Lewis (1970) recorded and transcribed classroom interactions and divided them into episodes. From the episodes she contrasted two teacher styles, one based on a hierarchical pupil-teacher relationship, the other on a peer-oriented group enterprise. She described how

children code-switch in different ways in the two settings. Similarly in this study, teacher styles were described in terms of episodes.

Development of Episode Categories

Before classroom observations began, the investigator listed proposed ways of accommodating instruction for dialect speakers and possible sources of linguistic conflict. The list included five general headings, three to describe speech registers (spontaneous speech, instructional speech and oral reading) and two to describe content (of reading instruction and reading materials). Suggestions for accommodation and interference behaviors were drawn from literature on dialect and reading.

Spontaneous speech. Goodman (1969) recommends that teachers, in Langsten Hughes' terms, "dig, and be dug in return," that they appreciate dialect, listen carefully and objectively and find beauty and form there. He states that children are proficient in detecting slight, subtle differences in speech sounds that are significant to their dialect, while they ignore cues that are not relevant in their system. Puns which are funny to Black children might be missed by the teacher. A first recommendation, then, is that teachers enter into verbal play with children, or at least express appreciation of artful dialect forms.

To ignore or discourage verbal play, treating it only as disruptive, could be considered interference.

Melmed (1970) states that teachers sometimes do not understand the speech of Black children, and the children may interpret the question, "What did you say?" as a hostile challenge, a reprimand or an indication that the teacher is not listening or caring. A second recommendation, then, is that teachers equip themselves to readily understand Black children's free flowing speech.

It would seem an advantage, in addition, for teachers to have a productive command of dialect, either as part of their regular system or in occasional uses of Black intonation or vocabulary. Teachers who have a similar cultural and linguistic background as their students are likely to anticipate difficulties the children might have with reading materials. Those who have a different background, but accept the cultural differences of dialect speakers could demonstrate their acceptance by occasionally using dialect with children.

A final recommendation about spontaneous speech is that teachers accept dialect during free conversation. McDavid (1969) notes that some teachers send dialect-speaking children for speech correction, inferring that their dialect marks them as sloppy and careless or even vulgar and crude. Goodman (1969)

suggests that teachers distinguish immature language, which is in transition toward adult norms, from dialect. If a teacher "corrects" dialect, she is at cross-purposes with the direction of the growth of the child.

Instructional speech. While they are involved in a lesson, Black children and their teachers as well are likely to adopt a more formal speech style. Some children's instructional speech may approximate standard English more than their playground speech but still include dialect features. According to Goodman (1969), children forced to accept a new dialect for learning must accept the view that their own language is inferior; they must reject their own culture and themselves. He emphasizes that the focus during instruction must be on reading rather than on changing language. There is an important distinction between comprehension and production of speech. Those who insist on formal standard usage seem to equate pronunciation with understanding, but these do not correspond.

Frequently, responses called for during early reading instruction must be precise. For example, when teachers ask for words that end in "th." Dialect answers, transforming "th" to "f," may be ambiguous, particularly if teachers are unaware of dialect. It is helpful if the teacher clarifies what the child means quickly rather than acting as if he were in error or

than letting the lesson bog down on a minor point. To accomplish this, Labov (1969) recommends that teachers know the differences in the sets of homonyms of standard and Black English, and accept phonological differences as long as they have no grammatical implications, as in -ed endings.

In classrooms of Black children, the teachers might be the only model of standard English. If she speaks indistinctly or overarticulates sounds, the children lack an adequate model. Much of the content of instruction, as in phonics, depends on standard pronunciations which some children might not become familiar with without the teacher's help.

A problem underlying several of those already described is the possibility that a dialect-speaking child will avoid talking. Melmed (1970) comments on how Black children expect adults to correct and disapprove of their speech. This disapproval can be communicated by teachers repeating children's responses, anticipating them and interrupting them. Children who participate enthusiastically in instruction are certainly in a disposition to learn more than children who are withdrawn and silent.

Reading instruction. Language differences pose problems related to the content of teaching. Melmed (1970) found that dialect-speaking children's auditory discrimination for minimal pair-dialect

homonyms was less than that of children who distinguished the same words in their speech. Melmed recommends that when homonym pairs are presented for identification, they should be embedded in unambiguous sentences, such as, "His (pass, past) made him famous." He also proposes that phonological distinctions not be accentuated by teachers insisting that children articulate them. Children are able to identify a word by its meaning when it is presented in context. Labov (1969) mentions that Black children may require perception training to distinguish standard forms which were formerly not relevant to them.

Because so many words used in school sound different to Black children than they would expect from the standard spelling, Fasold (1969) states that they are liable to lose confidence in the principle of sound-symbol correspondence. Labov (1969) suggests that they may stop trying to analyze shapes of letters that follow the vowel; they may look at the first few letters and guess at the whole word. Attempts to establish sound-symbol correspondence then could be particularly important for dialect speakers. Sometimes children become skilled at identifying words by watching the teacher's lips, listening to other children or observing pictures in the book, and fail to learn decoding skills. Certain sounds in particular may cause problems for Black children. Labov (1969)

suggests that teachers spend more time explaining the grammatical function of certain inflections, such as final -ed, giving them the same kind of attention as that given silent "b" in "lamb."

Many dialect-speaking children have a cultural background which has supplied them with a different vocabulary from middle class children. Goodman (1969), Melmed (1970), Fasold (1969), and McDavid (1969) comment on vocabulary differences of Black children. Teachers who do not recognize these differences may confuse children even in their instructions or explanations.

Oral reading. When some Black children read aloud, they are likely to use dialect pronunciation. Fasold (1969), Rystrom and Cowart (1972), Labov (1969) and Melmed (1970) agree that Black children are often "corrected" for "reading errors" that are really only variations in pronunciation. As a result, children may become confused, angry or withdrawn. Teachers who know the features of Black English can distinguish real reading errors from dialect pronunciations. If teachers inconsistently correct oral reading, children might lose the principle that reading corresponds to speech. Goodman (1969) would remind teachers that spelling does not determine pronunciation--there is a range of variability in phonological realization of written symbols, and this should be extended to include

dialect speakers.

When words are read in isolation, this may be more of a problem. Vowel variations and softening the ends of words in dialect make it difficult to assure that children are correctly identifying isolated words, as in a word list. "So" and "sore," "sure" and "shore," and many others may be pronounced alike. But teachers can supply a context to assure that children are reading correctly.

If there is a heavy emphasis on sounding out words, perhaps to compensate for sound-symbol difficulties, children might stop reading for meaning. While this problem could apply to all children, the vocabulary differences of some Black children intensifies the problem for them. Goodman (1969) describes how artificial "primerese" is, to the point of being a non-language. Black children who are experiencing difficulty might try to be hypercorrect in their speech; others read in a flat, choppy tone, without understanding the content. Teachers can prevent these difficulties by asking children comprehension questions and encouraging continuity in oral reading. Goodman comments that more proficient readers use their own dialect; they bring together decoding skills, comprehension and confidence in their own language patterns.

Reading materials. Most dialectologists recommend use of standard orthography in reading

materials, emphasizing that Black children can understand them quite well. One way of affirming the acceptability of dialect, however, is allowing children to read their own writing. Notes, sentences written on a blackboard or other informal writing which includes phonetic transcription of dialect features might affirm sound-symbol correspondence and encourage involvement in reading.

The prepared reading materials used in many first grade classrooms are stilted. A few elicit rhythmic patterns that encourage fluid, natural speech, which might alleviate some of the problems of dialect-speaking readers. They can become more involved when there is a rhythmic pattern to the material and break through barriers to both decoding and comprehension.

Some reading materials present many phonemic variants at once; others use closer phoneme-grapheme correspondence. These could present a further difficulty for Black children; some are not even written in the United States, but in England. McDavid (1969) notes that either children must adjust their sound system or teachers must use materials with close phoneme-grapheme correspondence flexibly. Consistency in materials might be helpful, but not if uniform pronunciation is associated with their use. McDavid (1969) recommends that instruction proceed from grosser to finer distinctions so that the load of sound

symbol associations is not too great at any one time.

Finally, reading materials can be alienating if their content is too unfamiliar. Goodman (1969) recommends that reading materials draw on the experiences and settings appropriate to the children. This is often not the case. Some reading books have a dated pastoral content that would be unfamiliar even to modern rural children. In many ways, the culture of the child and the culture of the school are at odds, and reading failure resulting from misunderstanding (structural conflict) and alienation (functional conflict) may result.

These potential areas of dialect conflict are summarized in a list of Episode Categories (see pages 40-41).

Observation Sequence

The investigator visited 14 classrooms for four half-hour periods, two during the morning reading period and two in the afternoon. During the observation sessions she made notes to describe episodes of dialect interference and teacher accommodation. Activities observed in each classroom included oral reading, workbook or similar individual written lessons, and group lessons as when children sat near the board, working orally.

A second observer, who had teaching experience

EPISODE CATEGORIES

	ACCOMMODATION	INTERFERENCE
	1.0 Spontaneous Speech	
1.1	Teacher expresses appreciation of artful dialect forms by winking, nodding and smiling with children, or by entering into verbal play with them.	Teacher ignores or discourages verbal play when used by Black children; treats verbal play only as disruptive. Does not include it in instruction.
1.2	Teacher converses coherently with children who speak in Black dialect.	Teacher asks children to repeat what they said, responds inappropriately or ignores spontaneous speech of Black children.
1.3	Teacher's speech includes features of Black English intonation, phonology, vocabulary or grammar.	Teacher speaks only in Standard English; does not use even vocabulary or intonation of dialect.
1.4	During children's spontaneous speech, teacher accepts dialect pronunciation.	During children's spontaneous speech, teacher repeats children's sentences, supplying grammatical features as if to erase dialect, or interrupts the flow of speech to "correct" dialect.
	2.0 Instructional Speech	
2.1	Teacher accepts dialect pronunciation during instruction; focuses on reading lesson rather than on changing speech patterns; provides Standard English alternate only if necessary to clarify an instructional issue.	Teacher insists on formal Standard usage during instruction, interrupting the continuity of the lesson; loses children's interest or attention by asking them to repeat several times; devotes considerable time during reading instruction to changing language patterns.
2.2	Teacher readily comprehends dialect responses; when children use dialect homonyms teacher clarifies their meaning by eliciting examples or definitions.	Teacher misinterprets dialect responses; when children use dialect homonyms, teacher proceeds as if they were in error; requires a considerable time to clarify their meaning.
2.3	Teacher speaks distinctly, avoiding distortion, during instruction.	Teacher does not speak distinctly or distorts speech; overemphasizes sounds.
2.4	Teacher encourages children to speak; listens to their responses; allows them to state answers and questions fully; acknowledges responses affirmatively; children ask questions, give responses and make comments enthusiastically.	Teacher anticipates responses, interrupts children when they speak, talks over them; repeats what they have said in a Standard English, correcting tone of voice; children speak very softly and as seldom as possible; teacher does almost all the talking.
	3.0 Reading Instruction	
3.1	Teacher gives auditory discrimination training; uses unambiguous syntatic cues when presenting dialect homonyms; elicits correct responses	Teacher does not train children to listen for Standard English distinctions; presents isolated sounds of Standard English for identification without insuring accuracy of children's responses.

3.2	Teacher reinforces consonant-vowel combinations by emphasizing decoding skills; gives special attention to ending sounds and medial vowels; children consistently attempt to sound out words.	Teacher discourages use of word attack skills by supplying sounds or context clues before children have had a chance to decode symbols; asks children to identify sounds from an inappropriate Standard English model; considerable wild guessing occurs.
3.3	Teacher uses familiar words in instruction; checks to see whether words used are familiar to children; teaches meanings of unfamiliar words and concepts; uses examples and clues to which children respond appropriately.	Teacher uses unfamiliar words in instruction without clarifying; children look puzzled, fail to respond or respond inappropriately to explanations.

4.0 Oral Reading

4.1	When children read sentences in dialect, teacher distinguishes reading errors from Black English; accepts dialect pronunciation as correct reading.	When children read sentences in dialect, teacher interrupts, speaks before children have a chance to respond, talks over children; interprets dialect pronunciations as reading errors.
4.2	When children read isolated words in dialect, teacher listens carefully to determine whether the words were identified correctly; asks children for a sentence if the distinction is not clear; provides alternate words asking which the child meant; provides context clues to clarify word meaning; writes alternate words of homonym pair to clarify distinctions.	When children read isolated words in dialect, teacher does not listen carefully, asks them to repeat several times; repeats words in a loud tone of voice without insuring that children can make the distinctions between homonym pairs.
4.3	Teacher encourages reading for meaning; asks comprehension questions; encourages continuity in oral reading; children's voices indicate that they comprehend what they read.	Teacher accepts flat, choppy production of sounds during oral reading; children's voices while reading indicate that they are decoding without comprehending.

5.0 Reading Materials

5.1	Teacher uses Black children's notes, stories, or other materials which accurately represent their speech in teaching reading.	Teacher uses only Standard English reading materials; children's writing is Standard.
5.2	Teacher uses materials with rhythmic patterns, etc., which facilitate use of natural speech patterns in reading.	Teacher uses materials which elicit choppy, stilted speech in reading.
5.3	Teacher uses materials which flexibly represent phoneme-grapheme relationships.	Teacher uses materials which represent Standard English with one-to-one phoneme-grapheme correspondence.
5.4	Teacher uses reading materials with predominantly familiar content; checks to see whether words used in reading materials are familiar to children, teaches meaning of unfamiliar words.	Teacher uses reading materials with considerable unfamiliar content; explanations interrupt the continuity of the lesson; children's responses indicate that word meanings were not clarified.

and familiarity with dialect forms also visited each classroom, and using the list of potential interference and accommodation behaviors, noted episodes where these seemed to occur. Between classroom visits, observers discussed what they saw and compared categorization of episodes. The initial list of accommodation and interference behaviors was continually revised so that it would better describe what had been observed.

Soon after the observations began, it became apparent that notes alone were not sufficient to record episodes in detail. For this reason, tape recordings were made. The investigator completed one morning and afternoon observation in each classroom, then, with the permission of teachers, made tape recordings for 15 minutes of each of the second set of morning and afternoon observations. Taping was done unobtrusively with a small casette recorder. The children and teachers did not seem to act much differently as a result of being taped. One difference was that two class discussions seemed slightly prolonged, as if the teachers wanted to make sure that every child would have a turn at speaking on tape. Giving every child a turn may have been the teacher's regular practice, however.

There were probably other differences in regular classroom procedures as a result of the observer's presence. These are difficult to assess, as teachers react differently to having visitors, and there is no

way to observe natural classrooms without being present. Dates were set for classroom visits, and it seems likely that teachers prepared, at least for the first of the four visits. By the third visit, none of the teachers or children seemed uncomfortable with having visitors.

It did not seem optimal to inform teachers that the focus of the study was Black children's language, but permission to enter classrooms was contingent on doing so. Teachers may have acted differently than usual, but how they acted would depend on their own concepts of dialect differences. The observers did not discuss the content of the study beyond a general statement of its purpose.

Categorization of Episodes

At the conclusion of the observation sequence, there were notes on 28 hours of observation and seven hours of taped classroom instruction. The notes and tape recordings were examined and segments of classroom dialogue excerpted. The Episode Category list provided a guide for defining episodes. Some were quite long when a topic continued; others were very brief. Each episode was placed in several categories, based on the speech register of teachers and children, on the content of the instruction and materials. The investigator sorted episodes so that as many categories as possible could be illustrated.

Formation of Teacher Groups

After completing classroom visits, the investigator and second classroom observer divided teachers into accommodation and interference groups. The observers placed a teacher in the accommodation group if her teaching was characterized more by episodes described in the accommodation list than by episodes in the interference list. The grouping was based on an overall impression of the observers, following classroom visits, not on the number of episodes of each type. At the time teacher groups were formed, the categorization of episodes, which required several months, was not complete.

A second rating was based on more coherent teaching styles, on constellations of behavior which occurred together. These were defined after episodes were categorized. Chapter III describes the correspondence of teacher ratings and episodes and agreement between observers on the placement of teachers in groups.

Dialect Measure

The amount of Black dialect a child uses varies according to the social context in which he finds himself. In a preliminary study, 16 Black children, four from each reading group in a single classroom, were tape recorded performing a sentence construction task during reading instruction and a sentence repetition task. They were also recorded during a casual interview and during spontaneous peer interaction. The resulting 738 utterances were transcribed and from the total speech output, the percentage of dialect used recorded for each child.

An analysis of variance showed significant differences between the amount of dialect used between speech situations and an interaction of speech situations by reading group. Mean dialect scores for each cell illustrate three separate patterns as shown in Table 1.

First, there appeared to be a progression in the amount of dialect used in the sentence repetition task, according to reading group. The fast readers performed the sentence repetition task in standard English using only 15 percent dialect, while the slow readers used over 73 percent dialect. The more proficient readers seemed to change "registers" or "style switch" more readily than the less proficient readers. Second, each group used about the same amount of

TABLE 1

PRELIMINARY STUDY

MEAN PERCENT OF DIALECT USED FROM TOTAL SPEECH OUTPUT OF FIRST GRADERS FROM FOUR READING GROUPS IN FOUR SPEECH CONTEXTS

Reading Group		Speech Situation			
		Sentence Construction	Sentence Repetition	Casual Interview	Spontaneous Speech
(Slow)	A	4.76	73.33	48.83	55.55
	B	5.26	52.54	68.33	76.92
	C	2.04	28.81	61.53	46.43
(Fast)	D	31.82	15.00	66.04	65.00

dialect in free speech, about 60 percent. Third, in sentence construction, the fast readers were more fluent, which seemed to account for their higher dialect use in the instructional setting. The slow reading group had a lower total speech output and spoke in a deliberate, stilted fashion in the instructional setting.

The results of the preliminary study were one reason for selecting the sentence repetition task as a dialect measure for this investigation. While it does not tap the range of variability of dialect use, the sentence repetition task seemed more likely to yield results related to reading proficiency. Each child could perform the task in the same way so the speech sample, the potential dialect forms, could be held constant. The aim was to obtain a general measure of dialect use, not material for a descriptive analysis of Black first graders' speech.

Ammon (1972) found a significant correlation (.454) between syntactic elaboration scores from a sentence repetition task administered to preschool Black children and their reading test scores at the end of the second grade.

Garvey and McFarlane (1970) tested for transformation of grammatical features in a sentence repetition task. In a study of fifth grade students, they found no significant correlation between transformation

scores and reading proficiency for low SES Black fifth graders.

Procedures. Fifty high frequency potential dialect forms[2] were embedded in standard English sentences. Both standard English and dialect speakers soften or delete some sounds, so care was taken to embed potential dialect forms in linguistic positions which would maximize discrimintion of dialect speakers from others.

Potential phonological and grammatical variations from standard English were included; other variations, such as those of intonation were not tested for.

Instructions and model sentences (listed in Appendix B) were tape recorded in standard English, with intervals for repetition between each sentence. Individual children were taken out of the classroom for approximately three minutes to listen to and repeat the sentences. The children's repetitions were recorded on a second tape recorder. If the class had a mixed racial composition some non-Black children were selected to experience the task to avoid focusing attention on

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[2]Unfortunately, these features were drawn from studies in New York and Detroit and may not have been optimal to discriminate dialect speakers from others in Oakland.

race. Some teachers requested that all their students have a "turn" as the children generally returned to the classroom with broad smiles, having heard their voices briefly at the end of the recorded task.

The investigator based dialect scores only on those features embedded in the sentence repetition task; variations not designed for scoring were ignored. The dialect score was derived from the number, from zero to 30, of Black dialect forms used in the sentences.

Reading Measure

The children in this study took the Cooperative Primary Reading Tests as part of the California State Testing Program. Raw composite scores from the achievement tests were used as a reading measure. The test is aimed at assessing comprehension, extraction (e.g., extracting an element, identifying an omission), and interpretation, evaluation and inference. This test, like other standardized reading tests, is not completely free of cultural bias. Bias against dialect speakers might be present in a word analysis test in which children are asked to identify ending sounds or medial vowels. Sample Word Analysis items from the Cooperative Primary Reading Test which may be more difficult for dialect speakers are the following:

"What has the same sound in it as set?"

"What rhymes with mask?"

"Jar ends with the same sound as fur. Jar . . . fur. Do you understand?"

"What ends with the same sound as wash?"

Melmed (1970) found that Black children had more difficulty with auditory and verbal discrimination of dialect homonyms than others, but did not differ in comprehending the same words in oral and silent reading.

The items in the word and paragraph meaning sections of the Cooperative Primary Reading Test used in this study did not have dialect bias of the type illustrated in the items. The word meaning portion required children to select one of three pictures (a ball, bell and bed) to match the printed word "bed." In the paragraph meaning portion a story is followed by questions such as, "Three little turtles had the same . . . (mother, name, supper) (Manual for California State Testing Program, 1970)."

Teachers administered and scored reading tests as part of their regular instructional program. Unfortunately, it is possible that some teachers "taught to the test" more than others due to the current emphasis on accountability, but it was not possible within the scope of this study to administer separate reading tests.

Summary

Teacher groups formed by using observational data, black dialect scores based on a sentence repetition task, and reading scores from Cooperative Primary Tests formed the basis of investigating the relationship of different types of reading instruction, dialect, and reading. Tests of paralleism of regression lines and analysis of variance were used to test differences in dialect and reading scores of children from accommodation and interference groups and from teaching style groups.

Chapter III

Descriptive and Quantitative Results

In this chapter, classroom episodes illustrate structural and functional interference in Black children's learning to read and ways teachers accommodate instruction for dialect speakers. Observers' placement of teachers in accommodation and interference groups and results of the analysis of reading and dialect scores associated with these groups are also described.

In addition, episodes are used to describe six approaches to handling dialect differences. An analysis of reading and dialect scores of children in the six groups is also presented.

Before quantitative results could be calculated, descriptive findings had to be analyzed to yield teacher ratings. Since the categories had been formulated from suggestions in the literature about what should help and hinder Black children's reading, the first questions in this study were whether the proposed kinds of dialect interference and teacher accommodation seemed to actually occur.

The investigator excerpted 104 episodes from tape recordings and notes made in classrooms. A

transcript of 73 tape recorded episodes appears in Appendix C.[1] The episodes are arranged in the same order as the episode category list.

Occurrence of Dialect Interference

When a conflict involving dialect differences was not resolved quickly and thoroughly, it was considered an interference episode. Whether the episodes of structural and functional conflict actually represent blocks in children's learning to read is difficult to determine. Children may act confused or alienated, but there is no way of separating out the effects of a particular misunderstanding on learning. The quantitative analysis treats an overall effect of teaching style defined by episode data; the descriptive analysis treats episodes one at a time. Neither approach measures the impact of individual episodes on learning.

Structural Conflict

The clearest episodes observed were those where structural conflict, a mismatch in linguistic systems, was evident. Twenty-six episodes of this type were recorded in seven hours. Frequency in a single classroom ranged from five per half-hour to none.

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[1] The numbered episodes or sections of episodes used for illustrations in this chapter are drawn from the transcript in Appendix C. Most of the episodes are from tape recordings as these proved a more complete source than notes.

Phonological conflict. Differences in the sound systems of teachers and children seemed to be the sources of conflict in 14 taped episodes.

In Episode 50, children were seated around a large table reading sentences printed on long manila strips. Each child had his own printed sentence which was large enough for the group to read. The teacher corrected a pronunciation, "dey," which led several children to change the word "they" to "that." The teacher's emphasis on a surface feature of speech was repeated in a way which interrupted the continuity of the reading lesson.

T This one, Lionel. This way, Lionel. Come on, you're right here. Hurry up.

C_1 'Dey, --

T Get your finger out of your mouth.

C_1 'Call --

T Start again.

C_1 'Dey call, "What i' it? What is it?"'

T What's this word?

C_2 Dey.

C_1 Dat.

T What is it?

C_2 Dat.

C_3 Dey.

C_4 (Laughs.)

C_1 Dey.

T Look at my tongue. <u>They</u>.

C_1 'They.'

T 'They.' Look at my tongue. (Between her teeth.)

C_1 They

T That's right. Say it again.

C_1 They.

T 'They.' OK. Pretty good. OK, Jimmy.

The closing line, "OK, pretty good," emphasized that something was wrong, that a child who pronounces words in dialect is not quite right.

In one classroom, an "ending monitor" was stationed at the front of the room by the teacher, facing the class. His function was to interrupt and correct the speech of other children, as in, "She say 'fin', she didn't say 'find'." Sometimes children overarticulated ending sounds to compensate, as in "pon<u>da</u>" in Episode 37.

In Episode 3, children were seated in a semi-circle around the board, reading isolated words such as duck, pond and rabbit in preparation for a story. Children chose a word, read it, then drew a picture under the word to illustrate it. The teacher often reminded the children to clearly articulate ending sounds. The emphasis on pronouncing the final "t" in

"rabbit" led one child to playfully change the word to "rat."

T (Make) the rabbit. What is it; what is it?

C_1 A rabbit.

T What's the ending on it?

C_1 'Rabbit.' (Facing the blackboard.)

C_2 Rat; rat.

T Turn around and tell us what it is again, please.

C_2 A rat.

T A rabbit.

C_2 It look like a rat.

T Tina, we didn't hear you.

C_1 Rat.

T Tina, look. Look, Tina, come here. Look at that word. Use your fingers.

C_2 Rrrat.

T Rab-bit. What is it?

C_1 Rab-bit.

T Now, do you know what a rat is? Here's 'rat.' (Writes rat.) You know the rat that crawls around 'n eats the cheese?

C_1 Yeah.

T This is rab-bit. Can you make a rabbit? Quickly now.

C_3 Sometime my mama call it a rat.

T Your mother calls a rabbit a rat? Why would she do that? I didn't understand you. Can you tell me in a sentence?

C_3 I don't know, Ms. X.

T and C_3 (Laughs.)

C_2 It's gonna be a girl rabbit.

T I think you're kidding me.

C_2 It's gonna be a girl rabbit.

T A girl rabbit. All right, fine.

The way the child pronounced and repeated "rrrat," as if tasting the word, marks it as verbal play. The teacher interpreted this as a reading error. The child continued in a playful tone, saying, "It look like a rat," and finally, "Sometime my mama call it a rat," which the teacher also took seriously at first. Only when the teacher asked, "Why would she do that?" and the child responded with a broad grin and exaggerated drawl, "I don' know, Ms. X," that the teacher caught on to the playful character of the interchange.

These episodes illustrate two responses to correction of pronunciation: withdrawal and play. The children did not simply comply with the teacher's instructions to articulate standard English sounds. Some seemed confused about what the teacher was demanding; others treated the demand playfully. These examples illustrate how structural conflict can have functional implications. The feelings children have when the teacher implies that something is wrong with their speech may be at least as important as their

misunderstanding an instructional point.

Episodes of teachers misunderstanding children rarely took place. Episode 8 includes two examples:

T What kind of bird lives in that nest?

C_1 A bird wha' flies.

T Flies! What's it do with flies? Oh! The kind that flies. Oh, thank you.

The same teacher misunderstood "fireman" and asked "a funny man or a Florida man?" Another misunderstanding occurred in Episode 9, when a child repeated several times that she needed a calendar before the teacher understood. In each of these cases, it was difficult for the investigator to understand the child, but other children readily translated. These episodes were very brief but might be serious if they had occurred often which would be more likely in the first days in a new teacher's classroom than in the classroom observed.

In some episodes word meaning was confused, when teachers corrected pronunciation. In Episode 19, children had been asked to say words which ended in "th." When "cough" was offered, the teacher recognized dialect interference, but interpreted the problem as deletion of "l" in the word "cloth" rather than confusion of "f" and "th" in "cough."

T Very good, very good. Can you think of another one, Juan?

C_1 Cough.

T What?

C_1 Cough.

T What are you talkin' about. I don't know the girl.

C_1 Cough.

T Will you give me a sentence? I don't know what you're talkin' about.

C_1 I'm coughing all day.

T Can you write that on the board, because I still don't understand it.

. . . . .

T No, I want you to just write your word, 'cause I don't understand it. I don't really know what it is. Maybe we'll have to get a dictionary. All right, in the meantime, I want you to think of c-h words, OK?

T Are you sayin' cloth or coth?

C_1 Cough.

T What does it mean?

C_1 I'm coughing.

T No, you're thinking about cloth. There is a word that's 'cloth.' Do you know what 'cloth' means? Do you have any idea; 'cloth,' 'cloth.' What do you <u>think</u> it means? Cloth is what you wipe the table with and dust with. Would you please go get the dictionary. Fight with it, and find c-l, it's c-l-o-t-h, little boy. That's good, that was a very good try. All right, now I want c-h words, Demetria.

. . . . .

T Thank you boys, for your help. All right, now would you read, nice and loud -- Thank you, baby.

C_1 'Mother bought some pretty c'oth.'

T Come on out with the c-l. What does the c-l say?

C_1 'Mother bought some pretty cloth.'

T Right. Now, do you know what cloth is?

C_1 Some material.

T Right. Now, do you understand the word, cloth?

C_1 Yes.

T All right. Can you spell the word 'cloth?' Come on, spell it, spell it.

C_1 C-l-o-t, t-h.

T Say the word.

C_1 Cloth.

T Ag-in, spell it again, nice and loud.

C_1 C-l-o-t-h, cloth.

T Right, very good. That word belongs to you, now. Put the dictionary away. Good, All right, chair. Look at me.

It seems likely that the child really meant "cough" since he had used the word in the sentence, "I'm coughing all day," a context where "cloth(ing)" would not appear. By the end of the episode the teacher had convinced the child that his word was actually "cloth."

Another semantic conflict which resulted from dialect pronunciation occurred in Episode 58. The

teacher heard "story" pronounced "starry" and asked, "This word?" So the child changed the word to store. After the word was repeated seven times, the child sounded annoyed when he said, "First I said story, then you ask' me that word again." It took several minutes to clarify the alternatives store, starry and story. The initial reading of the sentence, "Why do you think John not afraid in the endin', end of the story?" was semantically clear to the children. It became unclear when the teacher focused on a variant pronunciation.

Grammatical conflict. There were six episodes found to illustrate grammatical conflict. These occurred only during oral reading or during a formal lesson. The only category for which there were no interference episodes was number 1.4, which refers to a teacher correcting grammar during a spontaneous conversation. During instructional speech and oral reading, corrections did occur.

In Episode 67 a child was already having a very difficult time reading when the teacher corrected an ending sound which she considered important from a grammatical point of view. The child had made 14 attacks on the words "frightens" while reading the sentence, "The train frightens the deer," when the teacher said:

T Again.

C_1 -- fri, fright, frighten.'

T Again.

C_1 'Fright, frightened --

T Again.

C_1 -- frightened, frightened --

T Put the ending on it.

C_1 -- the deer.'

T What's this?

C_1 'Fright, frighten.'

T Put the ending on it; there's an ending.

C_1 'Frightens -- '

When the child finally read the word "frightens," substituting an -ed ending, the teacher directed him to "Put the ending on it." The child put the ending on the sentence rather than replacing the ending on the word "frightens." Later, when asked to read the whole sentence, the child reverted to the dialect form, "The train frighten the deer." The correction did not change the child's system for handling final -s.

In Episode 17, the children were seated around a large table constructing sentences to show the understood words printed on cards. The teacher's attempt to elicit a grammatically acceptable rendering of "A boy win a race" resulted in a new example of how to use the word "win."

CLASS 'Win.'

T Who can give me a sentence with 'win?' Lionel?

C_1 A boy win a race.

T A boy win a race?

C_2 I know teacher.

C_3 I know teacher.

T Hmm, that sounds --

C_4 Teacher, I know one.

T -- Can you say that a little better, so it sounds -- I understand what you mean, but Erndalyn, what, how would you say that?

C_5 The win' blew the hat off my frien' head.

T OK, that's what 'win' sounds like, huh. But this is the kind of 'win' when we, when you beat somebody else, when you win a race, OK? The other word, I'll show you how it's spelled. What word is this, Erndalyn? (Teacher writes 'win' and 'wind,') OK? And this is the kind of 'win' that we're talking about. This has a --

C 'D.'

T What's on the end?

C_6 A silent 'd.'

T A 'd.' It's hard to hear.

$C_{6,7}$ It's a silent 'd'!

T Well, it's not really, really silent, but it's just really hard to hear. It's there. Sometimes we can say it so we can hear it. Can you hear the name of it? Did you hear the 'd' then? And we usually, sometimes we usually don't say it, but it's there, so Erndalyn, what does this, make a sentence with this kind of 'win.'

C_5 I, I, I mean, I, I can win th' race. I win the race.

C_7 I know.

T How about, 'I will win the race'? OK?

C_5 I <u>will</u> win the race.

T OK, pretty good. OK, this one.

This example is of particular interest as the teacher had attended lectures on dialect differences and was following a recommendation to correct grammatical divergence and point out phonological alternates.

A simple grammatical correction resulted in confusion. A child replaced "win" with "wind" when the teacher did not accept the first sentence.

When asked the final consonant which distinguishes "wind," children chanted in an exaggerated didactic tone, "It's a silent 'd'! The newly invented designation seemed to fluster the teacher: "Sometimes we say it so we can hear it. . . . And we usually, sometimes we usually don't say it, but it's there. . . ." The child was also confused: "I, I, I mean, I I can win th' race. I win the race."

The last sentence is grammatically similar to the original one: "A boy win a race." This time the teacher suggests an alternate form, "I will win the race," but the reason may not be clear to the child.

In each of the six cases of grammatical interference, the teacher called attention to grammatical

divergence. The meaning of what was read or said was clear to the child and to the teacher. Calling attention to speech differences diverted the focus from reading. In addition, the grammatical divergence was not explicitly or successfully dealt with. There was a clue that something was wrong: "Can you say that a little bit better?", but what was wrong was not made clear. It seems likely that children who are frequently left with the feeling that their performance is only "pretty good" develop a resistance to participating. The same child who was told, "Look at my tongue, they," in Episode 17, was cajoled to speak in Episode 50, "This one, Lionel. This way, Lionel. Come on, you're right here. Hurry up . . . Get your finger out of your mouth." It seemed that grammatical conflict could lead to affective, as well as cognitive problems.

Functional Conflict

Episodes where the functions of language were at odds but no specific dialect form was the focus were labeled functional interference episodes. Functional interference occurred either when teachers did not listen carefully to children, as if they were interested only in a correct answer and did not expect to hear it, or when children did not attend to the lesson, as if they gave up on its making sense or being of interest. Inappropriate reading materials contributed to

functional conflict of both types.

Teachers alienated from children. In some episodes, the teacher seemed to ask by her tone of voice and gesture, "How could you possibly not know that!" In the midst of a discussion of a story about a lamb and a calf in Episode 72, the teacher asked, "How many of you have seen a meadow?" When no hands were raised, the teacher added, "First of all, what is a meadow?" The teacher seemed to imply that children who did not know what a meadow was must be very ignorant.

Episode 64 took place during a discussion of the same story: "By and by Little Lamb saw something. 'What are you?' said Little Lamb. 'You are little but not too little. You have long, long legs. Why are you here in my meadow?'"

T	OK. What does 'by and by' mean?
C_2	It mean goin' bye an' bye.
C_3	Uh-uh. It mean you wa' bye to each other.
T	You what? You what?
C_1	You buy each other!
C_3	You d' hear wha' I was sayin', I --
T	All right, what does by and by mean? What did you say, Melvin?
C_2	Bye to each other?
T	Saying bye to each other? 'By and by Little Lamb _____.

C_3 He not --, he just sayin' he knew.

T By and by; you still haven't told me. Use some other words to tell me what 'by and by' means. Thelma, do you know what 'by and by' means?

C_4 (Sings.) Buy an' bye-bye. (Alternate spelling, Bye-by.)

T OK. This is not the bye you say when you wave goodbye to somebody. That kind of 'bye' is b-y-e, OK? This is a different kind of 'by.' It just means, after some time, Little Lamb saw something.

The children played with the word, "You buy each other!" and chanted "Buy an' bye-bye," which was certainly more engaging than the story. The materials and instruction in some classrooms did not seem to build on what children knew; instead, children were presented with unfamiliar and uninteresting material.

In Episode 21, the teacher overemphasized a sound to the extent that she did not notice a correct response.

T You wanta go help her? Show her the word, first. OK, now, what letter begins the word, 'saw,' Darlene? You have to use --

C_1 'H.'

T No, saw, "Sss.' (Hisses sound.)

C_1 (Says letter) 's.'

T What letters begin the word, '<u>ss</u>aw?'

C_1 (Repeats letter) 's.'

T 'Sss.' 'H' begins the word he. But I'm talking about the word, 'saw,' ss-aw. What letter is that?

C_1 'S.'

T OK. The letter 's,' 'sss.'

It seems as if the teacher had become accustomed to having difficulty getting Black children to recognize sounds so she pronounced them emphatically, even distorting her speech. The child had given a correct response twice when the teacher again hissed the "s" sound. The third time the child gave the correct answer, the teacher heard it. This could be discouraging and alienating.

In Episode 73, the task was to circle a picture of a girl with curls. When a little girl in an all Black class, wearing an Afro hair-do had difficulty with this item, the teacher decided she was tired. It seemed likely that the word "curls" was simply not familiar to the little Black girl, who approached the teacher twice to explain her answer. But the teacher said, "I know, but that's OK. You correct that and then stop; then you read in a library book." The teacher then turned her attention to another child.

Children alienated from teachers and materials. Printed materials representing standard English with close sound-symbol correspondence seemed to be a source of functional conflict for Black children, even if they

were understood. ITA materials were used in Episode 42.

T	Very good. OK, there's a little bit more; you finish it, Randy.
C_2	OK, but I wanna go home.
T	You read it.
C_1	'Happy --
T	Here.
C_1	'"Here is it --
T	No, look at the word, Randy, don't just guess. '"Here y --
C_1	-- you is, are," said father.'

The teacher's reminder to "Look at the word, don't just guess," is an indication that the child was not involved in the task. The standard English phonetic materials may have been part of the reason. More serious were episodes in which children seemed to give up on the principal of printed symbols having meaning.

In Episode 60, a child decoded symbols, saying disjointed sounds. The same child, however, might read a book that was less difficult for him with ease. Children in some classrooms were given a considerable amount of time for independent study. Samples of "reading" were taken as children worked aloud. In Episode 61 a child reported that she was "Sayin' the sounds" when asked what she was doing with word cards.

Since the children were not interacting with a teacher, the investigator asked several comprehension questions. A child was unable to identify "light" or "feet," which she had accurately decoded. Asked to point to a "light," the child led the investigator to a sound card over the blackboard which listed the "igh" sound. The orientation of the child seemed to be toward decoding "word sounds" without processing their meanings. This type of episode occurred only where sound-symbol correspondence was emphasized in a structured minimal-variation, standard English program.

Verbal play was used as a diversionary device in Episode 5. While reading words on the board, several children began chanting "down-house." The teacher wrote the words, which were shaped very similarly in the initial teaching alphabet. "Down-house, down-house," the chant continued until the teacher changed the activity.

T	We'll do these three more, and then we'll put our books out.
C_4	(Reading 'BACK'.) OK. 'HELP, BLACK, BLACK.'
C_5	Ha ha ha.
T	No, that's close, Mario. 'Black would be like this. (Writes it.)
C_4	Oh, they Black, huh?
T	But this doesn't have the 'll' sound in it.

C_1	It's 'white.'
T	So it's just --
C_3	'BACK!'
T	That's right, Randy.
$C_{2,3}$	'BACK,' 'BACK.'
C_1	Down-house, down-house, down-house, down-house, down-house, down-house --
T	OK. Well I guess you'll --
C_1	-- down-house --
T	-- remember that from before --
T,C_1	-- down-house --
$C_{2,3}$	-- house, down-house --
C_4	-- down-house, down-house, down-house, down --
T	So I'll leave your points up here. Come and sit at this table.

Unfamiliar words seemed to be the problem in six episodes. In Episode 46, "feast" was pronounced "fist"; in Episodes 47 and 68, "bugle" as "brugle." The mispronunciations were treated as decoding problems when actually difficulties seemed to persist because the meaning of words was not clear.

There are many factors which are not related to dialect which could help explain these functional conflict episodes. They seem, however, to be related to cultural differences between speakers of Black dialect and standard English. Some of the structual interference episodes involved functional conflict, but

even in these the functional conflict, or alienation of teachers and children, may have been the most significant factor in interrupting learning.

Occurrence of Teacher Accommodation

The focal point of an accommodation episode might be identical with that in an interference category, but the teacher's handling of the situation would be different.

In Episode 55, the teacher presented a number of unfamiliar words, distinguishing them by spelling and meaning. Words such as par, part, and park; car, card, and cart could easily be confused by children who might not attend to word endings. Teaching these distinctions was considered an accommodation episode because possible structural conflict was dealt with directly and prevented.

Teachers' efforts at preventing functional conflict were also considered accommodation episodes. In Episode 13, the teacher used a chanting, rhythmic intonation.

T All right, come on let's do some thinkin'. Why, how can you say that this voice is beautiful if you can't -- don't get on that, get . . . back, honey; don't get on that. (Child stepping on microphone cord.) HOW CAN YOU SAY! WHAT DO YOU MEAN! WHAT DO YOU THINK? You can't see the voice, can you?

CLASS No.

T I CAN SAY LINDA'S BEAUTIFUL, CAN'T I?

CLASS Yes.

T WHY CAN I SAY IT?

C_5 'Cause you can see her.

T BECAUSE I CAN SEE HER, RIGHT. ALL RIGHT, CAN YOU SEE A VOICE?

CLASS No!

T WHERE IS THE VOICE, CAN YOU SEE IT?

CLASS No!

T Well, what do you mean when you say, a most beautiful voice. Now I want you to tell me what you think. What do you think, Linda?

C_6 I think you hear a voice.

T And that's why you call it 'beautiful?'

C_6 Yes.

T All right. That's a good thought. Shut your big mouth before I put my fist in it. What do you think, Shelley?

The teacher called upon each child and acknowledged her response. When it was time to continue reading every child was waving her hand, eagerly hoping to be called upon. The teacher's threat, "Shut your big mouth before I put my fist in it," was understood as playful, though no one interrupted again. This mode of teaching, combining unrelenting pressure to work with continuous support, would probably be effective with children from most cultural backgrounds. But it seemed especially effective with this group, where the

Black children appeared to be very comfortable with the particular combination of artful play, threats, demands and warmth.

Grouping Teachers

Both raters, the investigator and the second classroom observer, independently rated the 14 teachers on accommodation and interference. The ratings were based on overall impressions of the reading instruction observed. The criterion for rating was whether the teacher was better described by the accommodation or the interference episode categories. Eleven of the teachers clearly fell into one group or the other. Others, in the middle range, were contrasted with one another and rank ordered, and divided into two equal groups. The resulting lists of the two independent raters agreed in every case as to which category a teacher fell into. It was the impression of both raters, however, that the middle range teachers were difficult to place in two discrete groups. Table 2 shows the division of teachers into accommodation and interference groups.

Although the episodes vary considerably in length, impact and kind, it seemed reasonable to expect a majority of the accommodation episodes to occur in classrooms of teachers with that overall rating. Teacher rating did match 60 of the 73 episodes.

Table 2

Summary of Teacher Ratings: Accommodation and Interference Groups

Accommodation Rating Clearly Appropriate	Rating not Clear; Rank Ordered and Divided		Interference Rating Clearly Appropriate
A*	F	H	L
B		I	
C	G		M
D		J	
E		K	N

*Each letter represents one teacher.

Table 3 shows the distribution of episodes by teacher groups.

Analysis of Reading and Dialect Scores for Accommodation and Interference Groups

The analysis included tests of homogeneity of regression and multivariate analysis of variance on reading and dialect scores.

Regression Analysis

A test of homogeneity of regression or parallelism was performed to determine whether the relationship between dialect and reading scores differed for children in accommodation and interference groups. Hypothesis 4 may be stated that the regression lines have equal slopes and that dialect has no effect on reading. Children with higher dialect scores should fare better with accommodating teachers than with teachers who do not prevent or successfully deal with dialect interference, while children with lower dialect scores would have similar reading scores.

The analysis of variance table for the Test of Homogeneity of Regression is shown in Table 4. Since $F = .03$ is less than $F_{1,204}(.95) = 3.84$, the hypothesis of equal slopes is not rejected. The regression lines for accommodation and interference groups are parallel, indicating that within both teaching groups dialect scores had a uniform relationship with reading scores.

Table 3

Correspondence of Episodes and Teacher Ratings on Accommodation and Interference

		Teacher Rating	
		Accommodation	Interference
Episode Type	Accommodation	47	7
	Interference	11	39

Table 4

Analysis of Variance for Parallelism of Regression: Accommodation and Interference Groups

Source	df	MS	F
Slope	1	3567.65	75.18*
Parallelism	1	1.49	.0314
Residual	204	47.46	

*p < .05

The test for effects of dialect on reading is given by F = 75.17; the hypothesis of no effects is rejected. Reading and dialect scores were correlated, .42 for the Accommodation Group and .46 for the Interference Group, as indicated in Tables 5 and 6 (Appendix D).

Analysis of Variance

Since the regression analysis indicated that there was no interaction between reading and dialect for accommodation and interference groups, an analysis of variance could be performed to test Hypothesis 5, that there were no differences in dialect and reading scores for different teacher groups. The results, shown in Tables 7 and 8, indicate that neither reading nor dialect scores were significantly different for the two groups. Mean reading scores were 25.26 for the accommodation group and 22.89 for the interference group; mean dialect scores were 17.04 for the accommodation group and 17.51 for the interference group. Figure 1 summarizes reading and dialect scores for accommodation and interference groups. Dividing teachers into accommodation and interference groups did not prove effective for finding differences in dialect and reading scores. Hypothesis 5, that accommodation of instruction is associated with differences in reading and dialect score means, cannot be rejected.

Table 7

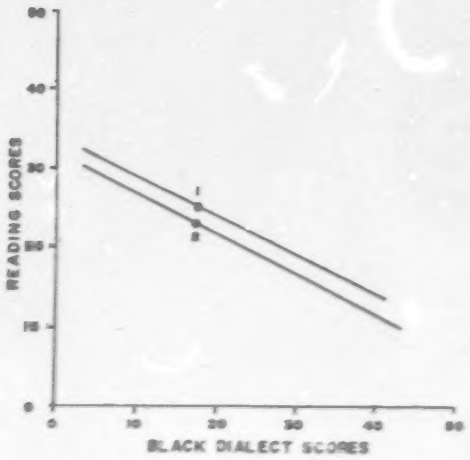
Analysis of Variance for Reading Groups:
Accommodation and Interference Groups

Source	df	MS	F
Due to regression	1	390.56	3.19
Deviation about regression	206	91.05	

Table 8

Analysis of Variance for Dialect Scores:
Accommodation and Interference Groups

Source	df	MS	F
Due to regression	1	11.80	.17
Deviation about regression	206	69.61	



GROUP 1. ACCOMMODATION RATING
2. INTERFERENCE RATING
• MEAN SCORES

Fig. 1. Regression Lines for Accommodation and Interference Classrooms.

Six Teaching Styles

After observing in classrooms, it was clear that episodes from a single teacher were not distributed evenly across the accommodation or interference category list. The list was prepared in order to give teachers ratings in every category, but situations did not arise during observation to make such ratings possible. Certain teachers were more like each other, as if they shared an emphasis or style.

Teachers were grouped and compared to determine what distinguished them, then regrouped until the groups seemed coherent. The episodes and respective episode categories of each teacher were then listed and compared. Sets of episode categories unique to teachers within each group were identified. No teacher from one group had the same cluster of episode categories as all the teachers in another group. Each group of teachers had a style, described by characteristic behaviors. Categorization of Episodes is related to teacher style in Appendix F (Table 23). The second classroom observer had not participated in the development of teacher style descriptions. Given the list of episode categories for the teaching styles, the second observer independently placed the teachers in the six groups. The resulting list agreed in every case with the investigator's list. The six groups are described below:

Group 1. Vocabulary Emphasis

Teachers who used a vocabulary emphasis seemed aware that many words used in instructional materials require explanation. Teachers from other groups also explained words but not to the same extent as teachers in this group. Episode 45 is one example of how a teacher made sure that children understood the meanings of words before requiring them to complete a workbook lesson on compound words. [Episode 3.3A (Accommodation)]

C_1 'Fireboat.'

T Fireboat, and mail and box.

C_1 'Fireboa',' what's a fireboa'?

T Do you know, 'cause we have them out here in the water, on the bay.

C_1 It's a sh'; it's a sh'.

T What do you suppose a fireboat'd be for?

C_2 If a ship catch on fire, the fireboat'd put it out, the fire out.

T It's out on the water, and it has hoses an' it's like a firetruck, only it's a what?

C_3 Fireboat

C_2 'Mail.'

C_4 'Mailbox.'

T How many people got, used the mailbox? D'you, any of you ever?

C_4 I do, we had a real mailbox but we had to take it off 'cause we had two mailboxes. We have to go in my mother's closet to get the mail.

T You had to go in your mother's what?

C_4 Closet to get the mail.

C_5 (Laughs.)

T Th-they put the mail slot into your mother's coat closet, in your house? Why'd you have to go in the coat closet?

C_4 I 'on' know, 'cause we had two mailboxes, an' one, one you just take the mail out but this one you have to p-put the mail in, slip the mail in 'ere an', then it comes out from my mother's closet.

T I was right, I didn't think it really was, but it was.

T and C_5 (Laughs.)

T That would be interesting. I hope it doesn't get lost among the clothes. You ever lose any letters that way?

T No? (Laughs.) Neater than my closet, then. Who can read the first sentence? Denise.

. . . . .

T No, shsh, Danny's turn.

C_7 'A mailbox is on the next corner.'

C_8 I wanna read it.

C_9 I know.

C_{10}	Can I?
T	No, you had a turn. Keisha?
C_4	'There are two beds in that bedroom.'
T	Good. Two beds and a letterbox.
C_5	Letterbox!
T and CLASS	(Laughs.)

The teacher was open to questions and used clues to which the children responded. Near the end of the episode, children seemed to have no difficulty using the compound words in sentences.

Episode 55 illustrates how teachers with a vocabulary emphasis distinguished dialect homonyms. [Episode Category 4.2A] When a child read, "Par, like you par' your car," the teacher explained "par" in golf, and distinguished it from part and party. Children became confused over cars, cards and cart.

T	You've got 'c' that comes before 'a'.
T	OK, something that someone at your house might play.
C_1	'Car'.'
T	Card game, a card game.
C_2	Cars, we play cars.
T	Cards, if it had an 's' --
C_2	We play cars.
T	OK.

C_3 It's the same thing; Oh! 'Cart.'

C_4 'Cart.'

T Very good, cart.

C_3 I thought that was card.

T Could you make me a sentence about a cart? Not a 'D'; can you make a lower case 'd'? Can you make a sentence about a cart?

C_4 She's fallin' off the cart.

T Can you make a sentence about a cart? We have one, almost, in this room; I think the tutor set we could almost call a cart, a cart. Another kind of a cart that a pony might pull. You know about that kind? A dog cart, a pony cart; some places they have races with dogs pulling carts, sort of like a little wagon.

Children also distinguished dark and dart, matching words with pictures.

T You look again.

C_3 'Duck.'

T What did I say that this part has to be?

C_3 'Ar,' dar.'

C_4 'Dark.'

T When does it get --

$C_{3,4}$ Dark, dark.

T When does it get dark?

C_3 Twelve o'clock.

T OK, and what other word could you say. It gets dark in the --

C_2 It get dark at night.

T OK, let's try one more. We've got so many here.

C_6 'Dar, dart.'

T Very good, Keith.

C_6 That's one of them things you throw. I got one of them in my mother drawer.

T Do you have darts?

C_6 No, I jus' got one, I, they do things, they dang'rous.

T Yes, they are, because they could get on somebody's --

C_7 Eye.

T Eye, mouth, nose, any place. They could hurt you badly. OK --

Other types of episodes were observed in classrooms of teachers with a vocabulary emphasis, but no teacher from another group had episodes in both categories described.

Group 2. Decoding Emphasis

The Decoding Emphasis was observed in classrooms where special reading materials were used to establish sound-symbol correspondence. In Episode 41, the teacher helped children "sound out" words rather than discouraging decoding by telling children words or pointing to pictures as clues. Children consistently depended on printed symbols rather than extraneous clues to read words. [Episode Category 3.2A]

T All right, you put a sound in there.

C_1 'Pling it in the c-l-ah-z-et.'

T You know what that is?

C_1 'C-l-ah-z-it.'

T When you put it all together do you get anything?

C_1 Closet.

T Right.

C_1 'F-on-nn-i-n-th.'

T You know why, it's not, 'th,' it's the other one.

C_1 'Thī.'

T It's not like thumb, it's the other one; it's the other one.

C_1 'Th.'

T No, it's like what?

T No, it's not like thumb, it's like what? Thumb goes this way (writes h), but that's not yours; yours goes this way (writes th), so which one is that? Look in back of you.

C_1 'Th.'

T 'Thz.'

C_1 'Thz.'

T 'Thz,' can you say it that way?

C_1 'Thz.'

T 'Thz,' OK, right, now, now try it. Sh, wait a minute.

C_1 I--ng.

T OK, what would it be; can you put it together?

C_1 'Th-i-z.'

T No, that didn't come out right; who can help him? All right, Kenny. Audrey, what about it?

C_2 Then?

T Then. Good girl.

C_1 Then.

T Then. Right.

C_1 'Then, it --

A second characteristic of the Decoding Emphasis was presentation of isolated standard English sounds for identification. In Episode 35 children attempted to identify vowel sounds in words. [Episode Category 3.1 I (Interference)]

T Wait a minute, wait, wait to do it. Tammy, watchoo call this, over here? Hmm? (Points to picture of a chain.)

C_2 Mm-mm-mm. (The 'I don't know' hum.)

T Well, don't write a sound when you don't know what to call it. It's a chain, OK? Right. And what sound do you need to write?

C_2 Ā.

T Good, yeah, right. Change that thing, Tammy.

C_2 I changed it.

. . . . .

T What is this? (Points to picture of a bed.)

C_3 A bayed.

T OK, what's the vowel sound in bed?

C_3 'Ā.'

T No, that would be bād̄e, beeed. What comes right after the 'b' in bed?

C_3 'E?'

T Right. Now write all the words that have the 'e' sound.

In the first section Tammy guessed at an answer before identifying the chain; in the second section the teacher did not notice why a child was confused about the vowel associated with a picture of a bed. In dialect the vowel in "bayed" sounded like "a."

While reading, children taught with a Decoding Emphasis seemed to produce sounds without comprehending the words they read. In Episode 60, the child's reading was choppy and disjointed. [Episode Category 4.3I]

C 'R-i-de, ride the r-t-h-ah-r-em. I'll, I'll s-we f-i-n-d a s-t-r-au-ai-m.'

The materials used for reading may have contributed to the choppy, stilted reading [Episode Category 5.2I] Episode 67, in which a child made 16 attempts to read "frightens," contrasts sharply with Episode 65, from another type of classroom. The rhythm of the story seemed to encourage fluent reading:

C_1 '(Here comes) a dog across the track. Blow the whistle, tell the dog to go back, while the little black train goes down the track. Blows the whistle, then 'c' --

T 'Cl --

C_1 -- clicky-clack --

T and C_1 -- clickety --

C_1 -- clack, clickety-clack.'

T Thank you, Bryant. You read very nice. Now who's in our way, Carolyn? Huh, who _____.

C_2 A cow.

T An' what does a cow say?

C_2 'Moo-oo-oo. Here comes a cow across the tra'. Blow the whistle, tell the cow to go back, while the li' black train goes down the tra'. Blow his whistle, the clickety-clack, clickety-clack, clickety-clack, clickety-clack.'

The teachers who used a Decoding approach emphasized sound-symbol correspondence, sometimes at the expense of meaningful reading. Children in these classrooms did less wild guessing than other children. But unfortunately the materials used represented standard English, or British English, phonetically rather than representing dialect. Children sometimes read aloud without knowing what the words meant. They could perform the task of decoding without really reading.

Group 3. Standard Pronunciation Emphasis

Another approach to reading used with dialect-speaking children seemed to be based on the assumption that the children must learn standard phonology as a basis for learning to read. Some teachers punctuated teaching with regular requests that children repeat instructional responses. [Episode 2. I]

T Tell me the sound you hear at the beginning and the sound you hear at the end. (Shows pictures.)

CLASS Ham. H-m.

T Who wants a hard one? Janet, I have a 'ship.'

C_1 It begin with a --

T Begins with a, let's say it for her.

CLASS Ship.

C_1 It ends with a 'b.'

T What would it sound like if it ended with a 'b'? Shib. What does it end with?

CLASS 'P.'

T Say it.

CLASS Ship.

T (Shows a picture of a web.)

CLASS Web.

C_2 It end with a 'b.'

T It ends with a 'b,' say it.

C_2 It ends with a 'b.'

. . . . .

T (Shows a picture of a pencil.)

CLASS Pencil.

C_3 It begin with a 'P.'

T It begin<u>s</u> with a 'P.'

C_3 And it end with an 'l.'

T (Shows a picture of meat.)

CLASS Meat.

T It's not me'. It's hard to hear the end sound but you really have to listen for it. It ends with a 't' if you say it that way. If you don't say it that way it ends with an 'e.'

. . . . .

T What story did you read for homework?

C_4 'Who Like Ice Cream.'

T 'Who Like' or 'Who Likes'?

C_4 'Who Likes.'

. . . . .

C_5 The truck stop.

T What's that?

C_5 The truck stops.

In these classrooms, considerable attention was devoted to changing language patterns; the corrections were irrelevant to the task at hand. Children spoke slowly and deliberately, sometimes in a stilted fashion.

T How would you describe that man?

C_6 <u>He is fat</u>.

T Good.

Children sometimes distorted words by overstressing endings, as when they said "wanit" for "want." They also became confused about whether corrections dealt with content or form, as in Episode 17, where "A boy win a race," was changed to "The win blew the hat off of my frien' head."

Similarly, during oral reading, the teacher often interpreted dialect pronunciations as reading errors. [Episode Category 4.1I]

C_7 Ben look down.

T He what?

C_7 Looks.

. . . . .

C_8 He see the --

T He what?

C_8 Sees.

Episode 53 illustrates how another teacher emphasized Standard Pronunciation during an oral reading lesson.

T What're you saying, honey?

C_1 Walk.

T Say that one more time.

C_1 He is asting the bird to walk.

T All right, asking, say that for me.

CLASS As-king.

T	Listen to Ms. X, as-king. Do it.
CLASS	As-king.
T	Very good. All right.
C_2	'With.'
T	Blow, Bridget, blow.
C	'What --
T	Very good. Com'on everybody, blow.
CLASS	'What --
T	I didn't hear the ending.
CLASS	'What --
T	Again, blow first.
CLASS	'What --
T	What's the word; remember, you have to blow on your wheel sound. Go on.
C_2	'What --
C_3	-- do --
C_3	'What did litt-le duck see?'
T	Very good. Do it again, Bridget, please.
$C_{2,3}$	'What did little duck see?'
T	All right, class, read that and remember your endings.
CLASS	'What did little duck see?'
T	What.
CLASS	'What did little duck see?'
T	I still didn't hear this sad little 't'.
CLASS	'What did--what did--what--
T	What.

T and CLASS 'What did little duck see?'

T OK, very good.

Stressing ending sounds to some extent could probably help some Black children learn to read. But the continual interruption of the task at hand, which was purportedly reading, not speech correction, seemed unnecessary and distracting.

Group 4. White Liberal Approach

Teachers in this group encouraged dialect use by occasionally using it themselves, by accepting dialect pronunciation and by using the children's own writing in dialect during reading instruction.

Some White Liberal teachers imitated Black children's intonation briefly, as in Episode 12.

C_3 I'm right here.

T Huh? What page? What page are we supposed to be reading orally?

C_4 I 'on't know.

T You 'on' know? (Dialect intonation)

C_5 'Scott Street.'

T 'Treasure Hunt,' did we ever read --

C_5 'Scott Street.'

T Didn't we ever read --

C_6 I wanna read 'Treasure Hunt,' I love 'Treasure Hunt.'

T You do love it, huh? What page is it (Dialect intonation)

on, David? It's on page 29.

C_6 Right here.

T OK. David's gonna start.

C_6 'Billy want --

T -- ted, ted.

C_6 -- wanted a dog. Billy as' his mother for a dog.'

"You do love it, huh," was pronounced with a syncopated stress and pitch similar to that of the children. "What page is it on, David," immediately shifted to standard English. The two sentences serve different functions; the first, rapport and the second, focusing on the task.

The "White-Liberal" teachers seemed to have a more open environment in their classrooms. In discussions, children participated eagerly, freely using dialect, which the teacher accepted. [Episode 2.1A]

C_1 Cr-crust. Crust.

T OK, read the whole sentence.

C_1 There is a crus' on something here.

T Which thing has a crust on it? Do you know what a crust is? OK.

C_1 (Started to circle a picture of apples.)

T A crust is the brown part of something. And bread crust, you know how some children eat the inside of the sandwich and they throw away the outside; they don't like the brown part? Have you seen somebody do that?

C_1 Yeah.

T Well, that part they don't like is the crust. The brown part on the bread, around the edge. What else has a crust on it? You ever eat fried chicken?

C_1 (Nods.)

T All right. You know how it has that brown part on the outside, that's so crunchy? That's the crust.

C_1 I like dat part. That's the skee-in.

T No, the skin is under the crust. The skin is sort of a yellowish color. It's chewy.

C_1 Mx. X, when my, when I had, when I had, when I got my leg cut right here, I saw my meat on the inside. It white.

T It was? (Laughs.) White meat, huh (laughs), not dark meat.

T You know, I, frog legs are white meat, too.

C_1 (Laughs.)

T I was so surprised when I --

C_1 (Laughs again.)

T -- I, once I, had to cut up a frog in science class, and a, I was very surprised that the, you know, the muscles were white. You didn't do this sentence.

The teacher entered into a friendly interchange with the child. During one observation period, the teacher and children read from a joke book. Children used dialect without self-consciousness.

Teachers in the White-Liberal group also

affirmed dialect use by including Black children's notes and stories in reading, without correcting dialect features incorporated in the writing. In one classroom a boy constructed sentences, writing them on the blackboard. The teacher provided help only when asked. [Episode Category 5.1A]

C_1	Writes: 'I like my granmothes because she les me -- (Hesitates, looks at teacher.)
T	Let's you what?
C_1	Have. (Pauses.)
T	Do you know how to spell it?
C_1	No.
T	H-a-v-e.
C_1	Writes: -- have a dollar.

The purpose of the activity seems to be fluent reading and writing. After it was read, the sentence was erased from the blackboard. Children's valentines were also posted on the bulletin board:

> "I like Mary and Tina because they is good"
>
> "I like my best friend and he like me. Ralph Willie"

Other first graders' stories were deliberately uncorrected and posted:

> "I went to the cemetary. We put flowers over my grandmother grave. Ralph."

> "I went swimming at Defremery Park and my brother push me in the water and I swim in six feet."

Children were able to read and reread their stories, apparently with satisfaction. Their own writing accurately represented their speech in a way a linguist probably could not.

> I went over my cousin saturday and monday I went on a barbeque picnic at the park and we had some fun and it was a lot of fight but I didn't pay know attention but then I got in to a fight with a girl because I was giting some water and then she push me away from the water fountain and then I beat her up and then she went to git her sister but that didn't hurt me at all. Theresa

The White Liberal teachers seemed accepting of children's language, and of the children themselves. Another characteristic of White Liberal teachers was that they gave auditory discrimination training, assuring that children correctly identified dialect homonyms. [Episode 3.1A]

T	Take.
C_1	Take.
T	Can you spell that word?
T and CLASS	T-a-k-e.
T	Take.
C_2	Better come on.

C_3 Lake.

T No, it starts like 'cat,' and it has an 'a' like cat --

C_4 Kill.

T -- but the ending is different, isn't it?

C_5 Cake, Ms. X.

C_6 Make, make, Ms. X, make.

T All right, how would you write 'mmake?"

C_7 M-a-y.

T No, make.

C_7 M-a-k-e, m-a-k-e.

T Good for you, Yvette. Did you get that, Rodney?

C_8 M-a-k-e.

T Make, take, rake; what about 'bake?'

CLASS B-r-

T B-Ba-a --

C_9 B-a --

C_7 I know, I know, Ms. X. I know, Ms. X --

C_9 -- k-e.

C_7 I know, Ms. X.

T Good for you!

C_1 You copied, you looked off of them.

T B-Ba, what would it be?

C_{12} Like you bake somethin', Ms. X.

C_7 Ms. X, Ms. X, Ms. X, lake.

T Yes, I'm 'onna, all right, how would you spell 'llake?'

Group 5. Black Artful Approach

Teachers with the Black Artful approach would, on the surface, seem similar to the White Liberal teachers. Both had considerable rapport with the children and seemed to understand and accept them. But the Black Artful group used Black speech fluently, directly involving the children in learning reading rather than to establish rapport as an intermediate step. The label Black Artful is used to describe teaching which incorporates a form of rhythmic play unique with Black dialect speakers. It is not the surface features of phonology or grammar that are important, but the rapid interplay with intonation and gesture familiar to Black children as one of the art forms of Black culture.

Very few teachers were sufficiently fluent in dialect to enter into extended verbal play with the children. [Episode Category 1.1A] While learning some of the words from "The House That Jack Built," the children engaged in ritual insult on "the man, all tattered and torn."

T	She met a boy, and this is the man all tattered and --
ALL	-- torn.
T	Here's another word, is 'tattered.'
T and CLASS	'Tattered.'

T	If you have on clothes that are all tattered, what do they look like?
CLASS	Ragged. Raggelly.
T	Wait, wait. One person, whatchoo say?
C_2	Raggelly.
T	Raggelly.
C_3	Teacher!
C_4	They torn, they torn up.
$C_{2,3}$	They got, they got --
T	They got what?
C_4	-- they got holes in 'em.
T	OK. Anything you wanta say, Melinda?
C_5	And dey have, dey have -- all the shoes are raggy too.
T	Shoes are raggy --
$C_{2,3}$	An' clothes.
T	Wait just a minute.
C_4	His (clothes) are raggelly, and his pants are raggelly, and a, his --
C_6	I know.
C_4	-- hat is raggelly.
C_6	I know.
C_5	-- and his shirt is raggelly.
T	Danelle?
C_7	And his body is ragged.
CLASS	(Giggles.)
C_5	His body is dirty. His body is dirty. His body is --. His body is dirty.

T Oh, he's dirty, too.

C_5 Hi -- His hair is dirty.

T Oooohh!

C_4 He don't wash his hair; he don't comb his hair.

C_5 An' his teeth is yellow.

T Ohhh!

CLASS (Giggles.)

C_5 He don't brush, he don't brush his teeth.

T He looks terrible, doesn't he?

C_3 He look like a ol' man.

C_5 He don' wash his hair.

CLASS (Giggles.)

C_2 In a old house that Jack built.

CLASS (Giggles.)

The teacher had a sense of the rhythm of the verbal game, which moved very quickly. There were no withdrawn or uninvolved children after this interchange, and the children were allowed time to let the meaning of "tattered" penetrate.

Unlike the White Liberal teacher's brief, imitative phrases, the Black Artful teacher's dialect seemed familiar and comfortable. [Episode Category 1.3A]

In Episode 10, the rhythm of the teacher's speech seemed to captivate the children. At the beginning they were seated quietly on the floor near

the board. The teacher had shown a museum diorama of a rubber plantation and as she repeated the word, "Plantation," children became more and more eager to write it, rising up on their knees, waving their hands. One girl shook her head so vigorously that her cheeks and lips rattled as she moaned, "Oooh!"

T You better listen, Plan-ta-tion, Plantation, Plantation, Plantation, Plantation. I'll take two or three girls because I don't care how many it takes, we'll just fight with this, right?

C_1 Yes.

T I don't like for you to look a little bit ugly when you miss a word, do you hear? Because you're not ever gonna miss that word again, OK? All right, go on. You're not supposed to look ugly, because you're not supposed to know everything. This is -- I thought that was very good. So we know the word, don't we?

CLASS Yes.

T All right. Somebody's gonna come to the board and write 'Rubber Plantation.'

CLASS Oooh! (Waving hands; extremely eager.) Ms. X, Ms. X, ooh!

T You sound like little owls. Oooh, oooh! All right, Felicia. Come on, Flea.

The teacher was demanding, pressing hard for the children to try, believing they are able to achieve. She threatened, almost in a chant,

"Girl, I'll beat your <u>head</u>
Into that <u>board</u>
If you don't make that '<u>P</u>'
Like you <u>should</u>."

Children squeezed the chalk and tried very hard,

apparently out of eagerness rather than fear of ridicule.

Another characteristic of the Black Artful approach is the teacher's encouraging the children to speak and listening to their responses. [Episode Category 2.4A]

T Come on, Felicia. Come on ahh, Juanita. Come on, Turtle. Try to write 'Plantation,' and we will give you all of the help -- Girrrl, I'll beat your head into that board if you don't make that 'P' like you should. If I ever see anything, I don't like it like that. Uh-uh. I don't like it. I like you to start at the top here. An' I really almost hit you then, I really did, I had to hold. Plan -- Plan -- Don't look at anybody else's, and if you miss it, it's all right, Plan, Pla-an - ta-aaa - tion. Plan - ta-aa - tion. I really don't like the way you're holdin' that chalk. (Breaks up chalk.) That's all right. I don't care about you missin' it. I'd rather you miss it and not look at anybody else's, you hear? Sit down, and we will check and see if we got it right. Now let's, let's do that. What does that say, children?

CLASS PLAN (covers up the rest) -T-A-TION.

T What does t-i-o-n sound like? What does that say?

C_2 Ion.

$C_{3,4}$ 'Shun.'

T What?

CLASS 'Shun.'

T What is the word?

CLASS Plantation.

T Yes. Let's see what she left out. She left out the P-l-a-n-t-a. Who wrote this? Juanita, you left the 't' and the 'i' out. It should be t-i-o-n. That's

a very good try, very good. Would you like to come up and write it so that you will remember it? All right.

. . . . .

The class is reading "The Vain Jackdaw" in Episode 23. The teacher has asked the children to describe a vain person, a person that "dresses up and walks around like he's proud of himself."

T And he tied the feathers to his tail. So and he walk around like, you know, he was a very vain, vain bird. Now, this is another word we have here, 'vain.' What do you think about the word, 'vain?'

C_3 Teacher, what's a _____?

C_4 Like your vein. (Points to wrist.)

T No, not like your vein. A 'vain' person, do you know what that is? A vain person is a person that, that dresses up and walk around like he's proud of himself. That's what, he spends a great deal of his time --

C_5 Teacher, that's a _____.

T Scuse me. He spends a great deal of his time showin' off an' admirin' the way he look. Now do you know a person who does, who would do that, a thing like that, do you? Do you, do you know a person that dresses up all the time, an' walk aroun' an' admire himself?

C_6 Um-hm.

T OK. Do you? Tell me about that person. Tell me about that person. Do you have anybody in your house, any big brother?

C_7 Uh-huh, muh-ah, muh-ah, muh-ah father.

T OK, does he dress up, an' walk aroun'?

C_7 Yeah, he dress up good!

T Then what does he do?

C_7 Then somebody, then one boy, he say my father, my father, they walk sharp.

T Oh, they walk sharp.

. . . . .

T Anybody else; Johnny?

C_9 My fatha dress up in knickerbock.

T Knickerbock. Then what else?

C_9 He have a soup on, soup, knickerbockers.

T Knickerbockers, ohh! What does he put on with the knickerbockers?

C_{10} My father --

T What does he put on with the knickerbockers; does he have some sort of boot, where --

C_9 Yeah.

T Good. Anthony?

. . . . .

C_{13} My little brother, he put on his tie and his suit.

T Then what does he do? Then what; does he look in the mirror?

C_{13} He go, he go in his daddy car, and make my daddy drive him somewhere.

T Oh. Tha's your brother? Oh, I see.

C_{13} Fi' year ole.

T OK. Now I think we all know what 'vain' means. Well, this is what this, this jackdaw did.

A number of children participated, and the teacher acknowledged each response.

Teachers in this group also gave auditory discrimination training, assuring that dialect homonyms were distinguished. [Episode Category 3.1A]

In Episode 31, children spelled "feet." One wrote it on the board while the teacher asked the other children to spell "feed."

C_3	F-e-e-t.
T	What do we do, the first sound.
CLASS	'Ff.'
T	All right, the second sound.
CLASS	'E.'
C_4	_____, Michael.
T	All right, and the last sound.
CLASS	'Tt,' ;tt.'
C_5	You shut up.
C_4	I 'on't have to.
T	Feed, feed.
C_6	F-e-e, f, f-e-e-d.
T	All right, give me a sentence using feed.
C_7	Hm.
C_6	Like, I feed my dog.
T	All right, 'I feed my dog,' What can you say?
C_7	Like, like I feed my boa.
T	Well, yess. All right, give me one using 'feet.'

. . . . .

C_{11} My feet have toes.

T All right, your feet have toes. What can you say, Johnny, about feet?

C_{12} I tickle --

C_{13} My feet have --

T Johnny?

C_{13} -- my toes have --

T Johnny.

C_{12} -- I tickle my feet.

T 'I tickle my feet.' What can you say, Mark, about your feet? Hm?

C_{13} Teacha!

T Michael?

C_{14} I wash my feet.

T I wash my feet. OK _____.

In this episode also, children were allowed time for a distinction to "sink in."

The final characteristic "Black Artful" teachers had in common was awareness of vocabulary differences. [Episode Category 3.3A] Episode 43 is a continutation of the story, "The House That Jack Built." It combines verbal play, high participation and vocabulary learning. The teacher explained the meaning of "maiden" but accepted the children's meaning, which incorporated the more familiar idea of a "maid."

T 'That ate the malt, that lay in the house that Jack built. This is the cow,' see, 'with the crumpled horn.' Now, when we say the cow with the 'crumpled' horn, what do we mean by the word 'crumpled?'

C_1 Crump.

C_2 It's twisted.

C_3 Crooked.

T Right, crooked. That's what we mean by that.

C_4 Twisted.

T Right, all twisted _____. 'He tossed the dog that worried the cat that --

T and Part of CLASS -- killed the cat, that

T and whole CLASS -- ate the malt, that laid in the house that JACK BUILT.'

T All right, all right. What person right now?

CLASS The maiden.

T The maiden, all forlorn. Now, who do we mean by that word?

C_1 Maiden.

T If she was forlorn --

C_2 The maiden.

C_3 Maiden.

T -- all right, what does the maiden do?

C_2 Oh, she --

C_3 Aa, all the work --

C_4 Do all, do all the housework.

C_5 Does all the housework.

T Oh a maiden does; she does all the housework.

C_6 She ol'.

C_4 She cook de tea.

T She cooks the what?

C_4 De tea.

C_5 She mae da tea.

C_6 She make da dinner, an' make da beds.

T This maiden, do you think she did that? (Holds up illustration.)

C_7 No, I know. She milk da cow.

T She milked the cow.

C_5 She feed da cat, feed da dog, she milk da cow.

T Oh. OK, in this story, in this little story, do we -- maiden, does that mean, oh, a maid, the person that does the work in a house?

CLASS Yeah.

C_9 She milk the cow.

C_{10} _____ too.

C_1 She clean up, she clean up her dog.

T She does all the cleaning, huh!

C_2 She clean up the cow.

C_3 She wash the dishes.

T Oh, she does all that!

C_4 She hang up the clothes, an' --

C_5 She iron the clothes --

C_6 An' she, a, get some coffee.

C_7 An' she put th' food on the table.

C_5 -- when somebody come over she give 'em coffee.

C_6 An' she does the cookin'.

T OK, she does all the work. Let's just say she does all the work. OK, the maid in this little story means it's a young girl, a maiden, not maid, maiden.

$C_{6,7}$ Maiden, maiden.

T OK, now.

The Black Artful teachers took time after their lessons to emphasize to the investigator that the real abilities of their children were often underestimated. They distinguished lack of ability from the need for explanations of unfamiliar material. The teachers clearly enjoyed the children and were determined that they would all learn to read. The teachers also commented that children need teaching, not just time in school.

Group 6. Interrupting Approach

Teachers in this group did not seem aware of dialect differences per se. Characteristics of interrupting teachers were anticipation of children's responses and repetition of what children said both during instruction [Episode Category 2.4I] and during reading [Episode Category 3.2I]. Episode 25 illustrates how a teacher

failed to hear a correct response, as if she expected to hear an incorrect or insufficient response.

C_1 'Fire.'

T Sound.

C_1 'Fa-rr.'

T 'Rr.'

C_1 'Rr.'

T 'Rr.' So what is it? Fa-- you don't play with it. It's what?

. . . . .

C_1 He-o-we-fa-er.

T Uh huh; now say it quickly. Fa-- Uh huh, say it. I can't hear you.

C_1 'Fire.'

T 'Fa-aa.'

C_1 'Fire.'

T 'Fire,' uh huh, say it quickly.

C_1 'Fire.'

T 'Fire,' 'fire.'

C_1 'Fire.'

T You don't play with fire, do you?

C_1 He ha - ar- dee.

T Dee.

C_1 Da.

T Ha -- what?

C_1 'Hide.'

T Put an 's' at the end.

C_1 Hides.

T Good. He what?

C_1 'He hides.'

T Good, hides, hides.

C_1 Hides.

T Uh huh.

In Episode 26, children were interrupted while reading.

C_1 'I want to --

T Ba-ee, be.

C_1 -- be somet'ing new. I want to be a calf --

T A what?

C_1 -- just like you.'

T A colt.

C_1 'I want to be a calf --

T No, that's not calf, cooolt --

C_1 'Colt.'

T Coool, hear the 'o' sound?

C_1 Co't.

T No, coolt.

C_1 Colt, colt.

T Lemme see, Jerry. One more time.

C_1 Soo't --

T Good, colt.

C_1 -- 'just like you.'

T So little lamb wants to be a colt.

Interrupting teachers also used unfamiliar materials without explaining the content in a way that engaged children.

T A small ca, cow is called a calf. OK, um, do you think that both of these animals can be in the same meadow?

CLASS Yeah.

T Why do you think they can both be in the same meadow?

C_1 'Cause, animals live in a meadow.

T More than one animal? Could more than one animal live in a meadow?

C_1 Yeah, yeah.

T How many of you have ever seen a meadow?

CLASS (No one raises hands.)

T What is a meadow, first of all?

C_4 It's in a grass.

T In the grass, OK; what else can be in a meadow?

C_4 Frogs.

T Frogs could be in a meadow; what else?

C_5 A calf.

T Calf. What else besides grass could be in a meadow.

C_6 A horse --

T What other plants?

C_5	-- a horse, a horse.
T	Is a horse a plant?
C_5	No.
C_6	Frog.
C_5	Frog.
T	Is a frog a plant?
C_6	No.
C_7	Is frogs plants?
T	What other plants, besides grass can be there?
C_8	Slow-flowers.
T	Maybe some flowers, all right. What else?
C	Roses.
T	Roses.
C_7	Yellow a --
C_8	A cat could be in a meadow.
T	There can be --
C_7	-- A cat can't be in no meadow.
T	In this meadow (holds up reader), just look at this page. This is part of the meadow. What else is there besides the grass; what other plants?
C_7	Melvin said a cat could be in a meadow!
C_8	Everywhere.
T	The plants that are a little bit taller (I didn't say to turn the page.) OK. OK, what elsse, what other plants do you see in this picture besides the grass?
C_5	Rocks.

C_7 Rocks, trees, flowers.

T All right, this is probably behind the rocks, these are bushes. They're smaller than trees. They're still plants, OK. All right, you saw some rocks there. Rocks are not plants. OK. And we have two animals on this page. All right, let's turn the page again.

The teacher's tone of voice during this episode, as in "Is a horse a plant?" communicated impatience. The teacher's saying, "I didn't say to turn the page," is one indication that the children were not involved in the lesson. One teacher in this group described her class as immature. During four observation periods there was very little teacher-pupil interaction. The teacher seemed to select a few children to teach and allow others to learn by themselves.

Another contrast between this group and others was an attitude conveyed in Episode 27. Children had lined up to ask the teacher what to do, as few, if any, knew how to complete the assigned exercise. A little girl waiting in line clenched her dress in her fists as if really frightened of approaching the teacher.

T What did you put an 'x' by, Judy, tell me? What words did you put 'x's' by? What! You don't know! How did you do it then? What were you supposed to do?

This is far from the atmosphere in the class where the teacher emphasized that "missin' it" was OK;

and that you're not supposed to look ugly, because you're not supposed to know everything.

The six groups described represent coherent teaching styles. It would be difficult to imagine a teacher from the Vocabulary Emphasis group emphasizing printed symbols to the extent that the teachers with a decoding emphasis did. Episodes of the Black Artful teachers are very different from those of the teachers who emphasized standard pronunciation. Even when an episode category is shared by two groups, the method of the teachers in the two groups differs. For example, teachers in the Vocabulary Emphasis group explained words to children [Episode Category 3.3A] while Black Artful teachers let the children explain words to the teacher.

Each group was represented by two or three teachers. These are listed in Appendix F. The six groups seemed an adequate framework to contrast teaching styles for dealing with Black dialect during reading.

Dialect and Reading Scores for Six Teaching Style Groups

Reading and Black dialect scores were entered into a test of homogeneity of regression for the six teaching style groups to test Hypothesis 6. Since F = .70 is less than $F_{5,196}$ (.95) = 2.21, the hypothesis of equal slopes is not rejected. The regression lines for the six teaching style groups are parallel, indicating that there is no interaction of style with dialect scores in determining reading scores.

The test for the slope of dialect and reading scores is given by F = 38.13. Since $F_{1,202}$ (.95 = 3.84, the hypothesis of no effects is rejected, as it was for the two group analysis. Table 9 shows results.

The correlation coefficients of dialect and reading for the six groups are listed in Table 10 through 15. (In Appendix D) The within group correlations, listed in Table 16, ranged from .319 to .607 and all were significant at $p \leq .05$.

In a multivariate analysis of variance for the six groups, F = 5.41. Since $F_{10,102}$ (.95) = 1.83, the scores were significantly different for the six groups.

Univariate analyses of variance were also performed on dialect and reading scores to test Hypothesis 7. Results are shown in Tables 17 and 18.

For reading scores of children in the six groups, F = 9.24. Since $F_{5,202}$ (.95) = 2.21, the

Table 9

Analysis of Variance for Parallelism of Regression: Six Teaching Styles

Source	df	MS	F
Slope	1	2481.42	38.18*
Parallelism	5	45.80	.70
Residual	196	64.99	

*p < .05

Table 16

Dialect and Reading Mean Scores and Correlation

Group	Dialect	Reading	Correlation*
1. Vocabulary	20.17	25.07	.395
2. Decoding	15.93	25.07	.381
3. Standard Pronunciation	15.10	26.60	.539
4. White Liberal	16.98	21.07	.305
5. Black Artful	14.00	31.73	.607
6. Interrupting	20.11	19.07	.319

*Correlation is between dialect and reading scores within groups.

Table 17

Analysis of Variance for Reading Scores:
Six Teaching Styles

Source	df	MS	F
Teaching Style	5	708.81	9.24*
Error	202	76.74	

*$p < .05$.

TABLE 18

Analysis of Variance for Dialect Scores:
Six Teaching Styles

Source	df	MS	F
Teaching Style	5	226.23	3.46*
Error	202	65.45	

*p < .05.

hypothesis that teaching style is not associated with differences in reading achievement is rejected. Children taught by teachers with some teaching styles had significantly higher scores than children taught by teachers with other styles. Table 16 shows the dialect and reading mean scores for the six groups.

Dunn's procedure was used to establish confidence intervals for the six groups. Two contasts of the 15 possible were significant. Reading scores of children in Group 5, taught by teachers rated as using a Black Artful approach, were significantly higher than reading scores of children in Group 4 (White Liberal Approach) and Group 6 (Interrupting Approach).

For dialect scores, $F = 3.46$. Since $F_{5,202}(.95) = 2.21$, the hypothesis of no difference in dialect among teaching style groups is also rejected. Children taught by teachers with some styles use significantly more dialect than children taught by teachers with other styles. Two contrasts of group means were significant. Children taught with a Group 5, Black Artful Approach, had significantly lower dialect scores than children in Group 1 (Vocabulary Emphasis) and Group 6 (Interrupting Approach). These contrasts are summarized in Table 19.

Comparing the six teaching styles, then, gave more information on how different ways of approaching Black first graders' reading affects reading and dialect

Table 19

Summary of Contrasts: Six Teaching Style Groups

Contrast 1:	Groups 1 and 2
2:	Groups 1 and 3
3:	Groups 1 and 4
4:	Groups 1 and 5**
5:	Groups 1 and 6
6:	Groups 2 and 3
7:	Groups 2 and 4
8:	Groups 2 and 5
9:	Groups 2 and 6
10:	Groups 3 and 4
11:	
12:	Groups 3 and 5
13:	Groups 3 and 6
14:	Groups 4 and 5
15:	Groups 4 and 6**
16:	Groups 5 and 6*, **

*Significantly different reading scores

**Significantly different dialect scores

scores. Table 20 shows how teachers in the accommodation and interference groups were divided into the six teaching style groups.

None of the teaching styles seemed to be more effective specifically with children who used a considerable amount of dialect. The effects were statistically uniform for high and low dialect speakers.

Figure 2 summarizes the reading and dialect scores for children in the six teaching style groups.

Summary

In this chapter, episodes were presented to illustrate some of the kinds of interference experienced by dialect-speaking children. The evidence suggests that both structural and functional conflict do occur, and that some teachers deal with dialect by accommodating reading instruction for Black children. Placing teachers in accommodation and interference groups, however, proved ineffective for finding differences in their students' dialect and reading scores.

Classroom episodes were also used to describe six teaching style groups: Vocabulary Approach, Decoding Approach, Standard Pronunciation Approach, White Liberal Approach, Black Artful Approach, and Interrupting Approach.

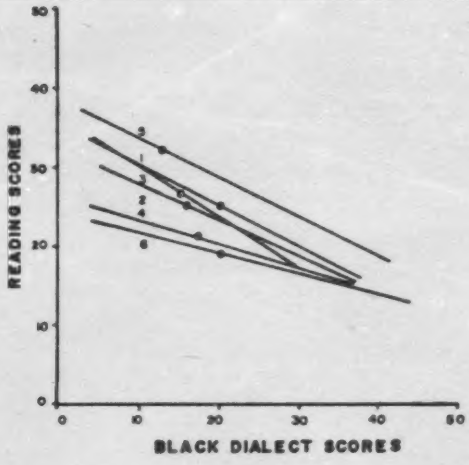
Tests of homogeneity of regression showed no interaction between Black dialect and reading scores

Table 20

Summary of Teacher Ratings: Teaching Style Groups Compared to Accommodation and Interference Ratings

Group	Accommodation	Interference
1	D,G*	
2		K,H
3		I,N
4	B,C,F	
5	A,E	
6		L,M,J

*Letters represent teachers; designation is the same as for teachers listed in Table 2.



GROUP 1. VOCABULARY APPROACH
2. DECODING APPROACH
3. STANDARD PRONUNCIATION APPROACH
4. WHITE LIBERAL APPROACH
5. BLACK ARTFUL APPROACH
6. INTERRUPTING APPROACH
* MEAN SCORES

Fig. 2. Regression Lines for Six Teaching Styles.

for teacher groups. An analysis of variance showed that both reading and dialect scores differed for children in classrooms grouped by teacher style. The Black Artful group had significantly higher reading scores than the Interrupting and White Liberal groups, and significantly lower dialect scores than the Interrupting and Vocabulary groups. There was a significant negative correlation between dialect and reading scores for all groups.

Teachers in the Black Artful group used rhythmic play in instruction and encouraged children to participate by listening to their responses. They attended to vocabulary differences of Black children and seemed to prevent structural conflict by teaching children to listen for standard English sound distinctions. Children taught with this approach participated enthusiastically with the teacher in learning to read.

In contrast, teachers in the Interrupting group asked children to repeat words pronounced in dialect many times and interpreted dialect pronunciations as reading errors. Teachers in this group presented standard English sounds for discrimination without insuring accuracy of responses. Some children from this group tediously worked alone at decoding without reading as if they understood; others seemed to guess at almost as many words as they were able to read. Some children withdrew from participation in reading,

speaking softly and as seldom as possible; others engaged in ritual insult and other forms of verbal play apart from the teacher. For children taught by Interrupting teachers, reading scores were lower and dialect scores higher than for the Black Artful group.

White Liberal teachers occasionally used dialect intonation and phonology during instruction and accepted dialect forms in children's writing and speech. They gave auditory discrimination training without presenting dialect homonyms out of context. They seemed to emphasize friendly communication more than the task of learning to read; reading scores were significantly lower for this group than for the Black Artful group.

The Standard Pronunciation Emphasis teachers insisted on formal standard usage, devoting considerable time to changing language patterns during instruction. Reading and dialect scores were not signficantly different from other groups. This approach was more effective with children who did not use much dialect than with children who used a great deal.

Vocabulary Approach teachers explained meanings of unfamiliar words, especially clarifying distinctions between the meanings of dialect homonyms. Children in this group had significantly higher dialect scores than the Black Artful group.

Decoding Approach teachers emphasized sound-

symbol correspondence, giving special attention to ending sounds and medial vowels. They accepted flat, choppy reading. Children consistently attempted to sound out words but seemed to decode without comprehending.

Chapter IV

Discussion

Dimensions Underlying Six Teaching Styles

This study began with descriptions of suggested accommodation and interference behavior categories. The descriptions proved useful for describing interaction patterns but insufficient for describing the kinds of teaching observed. Clusters of episodes were then used to describe six teaching styles. The six approaches to reading instruction for Black dialect speakers seemed to differ on two interrelated dimensions--"mutuality of communication and "task orientation." These will be used to contrast the six teaching styles.

Mutuality of Communication

Communication may be one-sided for several reasons. An interaction imbalance occurs either when teachers or children do all of the talking or fail to listen to one another. This could block learning, as could teachers' and children's misunderstanding one anothers meanings. Balanced communication requires mutual respect, evident in Episode 22 when the teacher said, "Tell me what you think," and listened to the

children's answers. In effective instruction, teachers encourage participation and make sure the content of instruction is understood. Teachers and children are atuned to the other, not interrupting and ignoring one another. They share a common purpose.

Corder (1971) states that a review of literature on teacher performance and student reading achievement failed to provide adequate evidence on teacher effects, but suggests that a reading teacher's success depends on her ability and flexibility in communicating to students and in encouraging students' communication back to the teacher. When children are from different cultural backgrounds, this requires either that teachers

> have a high level of verbal facility and flexible attitudes, so they can teach students of background and/or abilities different from theirs [or teachers, who] by virtue of their background and experience, would be able to communicate with certain diverse groups of students with whom many white, middle class teachers have difficulty (p. 214).

In this investigation, another dimension seemed very important as an adjunct to effective communication.

Task Orientation

Involving children in the task of learning to read requires that teachers present appropriate materials and information in a manner which will encourage children to respond. If a great deal of time is

spent in discussions peripheral to reading or if children are discouraged from involvement, learning to read will be more difficult. These dimensions are not inherently related to dialect use; they concern effective teaching in general. Contrasting the six teaching styles observed in classrooms of Black children illustrates how the dimensions apply to dialect conflict.

Contrast of Teacher Styles

In Figure 3, the teaching styles are placed in quadrants formed by task orientation on the vertical axis and mutuality of communication on the horizontal axis. This Figure shows a post hoc subjective placement of teacher groups; placement was not derived from numerical data.

Group 5, the Black Artful teachers, and Group 6, the Interrupting teachers, are at opposite extremes on both dimensions. For these groups, both reading and dialect score means were signficantly different. The Episode outline in Figure 4 shows that in a sample episode selected as typical of the interaction in Black Artful classrooms, no interference occurred. The episode did not focus on a single child but rather on the whole group. The pattern of interaction included considerable encouragement, marked by an enthusiastic tone of voice, both by teachers and children. Children were intensely involved in

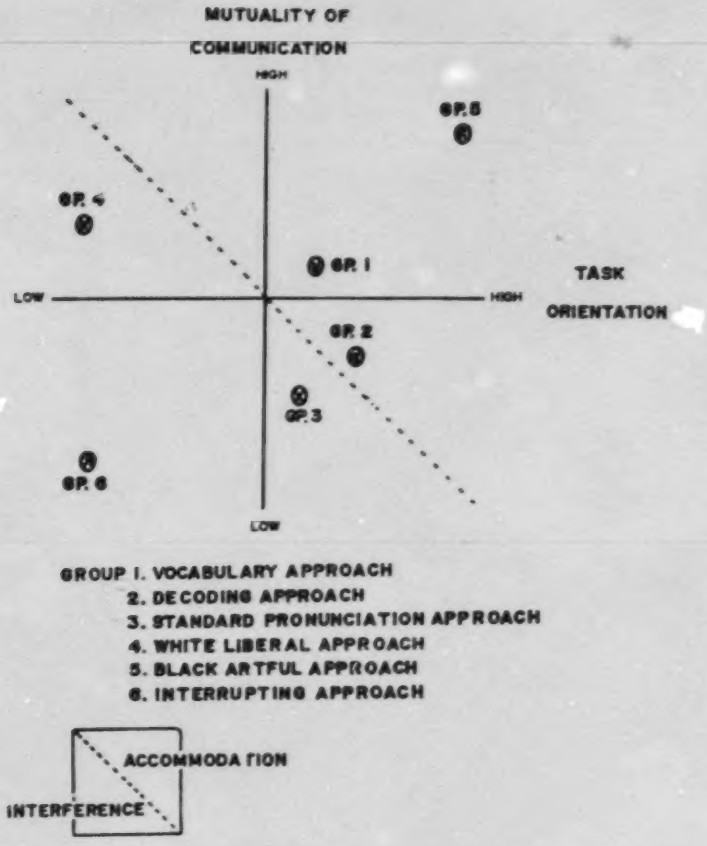


Fig. 3. Dimensions Contrasting Teaching Style Groups With Accommodation and Interference Groups.

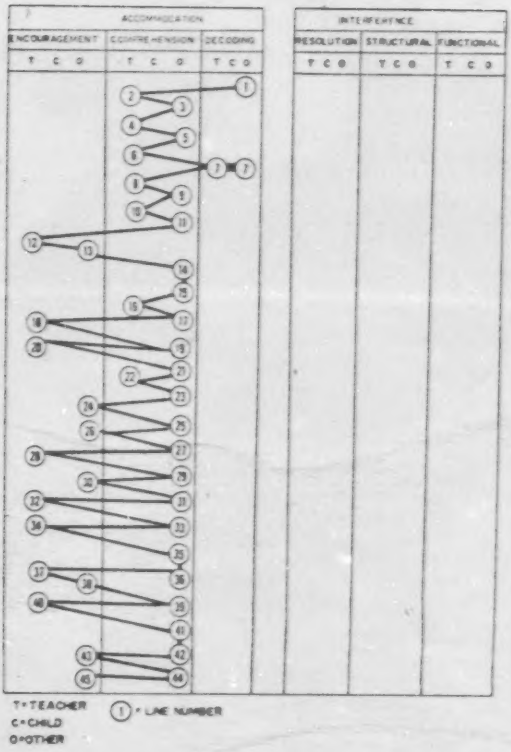


Fig. 4. Black Artful Approach--Episode 1 Outline.

Note: Line numbers refer to change of speakers. C or Child refers to the focal student in the episode; O or Other refers to responses of other children or the group.

Episode 1: And his teeth is yellow; he don't have on nooo socks.

Context: Children are discussing "The House That Jack Built" with the teacher.

Lines	
CLASS	(1)'. . . the house that Jack built.'
T	(2)All right. Then she met somebody.
C_1	(3)A boy.
T	(4)She met a boy, and this is the man all tattered and --
ALL	(5)-- torn.
T	(6)Here's another word, is 'tattered.' Look at it.
T and CLASS	(7)'Tattered.'
T	(8)If you have on clothes that are all tattered, what do they look like?
CLASS	(9)Ragged. Raggelly.
T	(10)Wait, wait. One person, whatchoo say?
C_2	(11)Raggelly.
T	(12)Raggelly.
C_3	(13)Teacher!
C_4	(14)They torn, they torn up.
$C_{2,3}$	(15)They got, they got --
T	(16)They got what?
C_4	(17)-- they got holes in 'em.
T	(18)OK. Anything you wanta say, Melinda?
C_5	(19)And dey have, dey have -- all the shoes are raggy too.
T	(20)Shoes are raggy --
$C_{2,3}$	(21)An' clothes.
T	(22)Wait just a minute.
C_4	(23)His (clothes) are raggelly, and his pants are raggelly, and a, his --

C_6 (24)I know.

C_4 (25)-- hat is raggelly.

C_6 (26)I know.

C_5 (27)-- and his shirt is raggelly.

T (28)Danelle?

C_7 (29)And his body is ragged.

CLASS(30)(Giggles)

C_5 (31)His body is dirty. His body is dirty. His body is --. His body is dirty.

T (32)Oh, he's dirty, too.

C_5 (33)Hi -- His hair is dirty.

T (34)Oooohh!

C_4 (35)He don't wash his hair; he don't comb his hair.

C_5 (36)An' his teeth is yellow.

T (37)Ohhh!

CLASS(38)(Giggles)

C_5 (39)He don't brush, he don't brush his teeth.

T (40)He looks terrible, doesn't he?

C_3 (41)He look like a ol' man.

C_5 (42)He don' wash his hair.

CLASS(43)(Giggles)

C_2 (44)In a old house that Jack built.

CLASS(45)(Giggles)

comprehending the reading lesson and attuned to their teacher and she to them. The artful play of the teacher and children seemed to account for this involvement.

The outline of a sample "interrupting" episode in Figure 5 is quite different. In line one a child read the word "fire," softening the "r" sound slightly. In lines two through fifteen the teacher asked the child to repeat the word. This apparently needless repetition was considered functional conflict. It was the child who resolved linguistic differences, but his reading of sentences was not coherent. In line 22, the teacher again interpreted a dialect pronunciation, "hide", "hides," as a reading error. The teacher's voice sounded impatient as she said, "good," and added, "hides, hides" in line 26, as if to erase the dialect pronunciation. This episode is predominantly composed of conflict introduced by the teacher and of a single child repeating sounds apparently not relating them to meanings. The child seems to be trying to comply with the demands of the teacher, but without success in reading. In other "interrupting" episodes, children are more resistant. Children in one group guessed almost randomly at sounds, barely paying attention. Some walked away from the table or even left the room. While reading, the following interchange occurred.

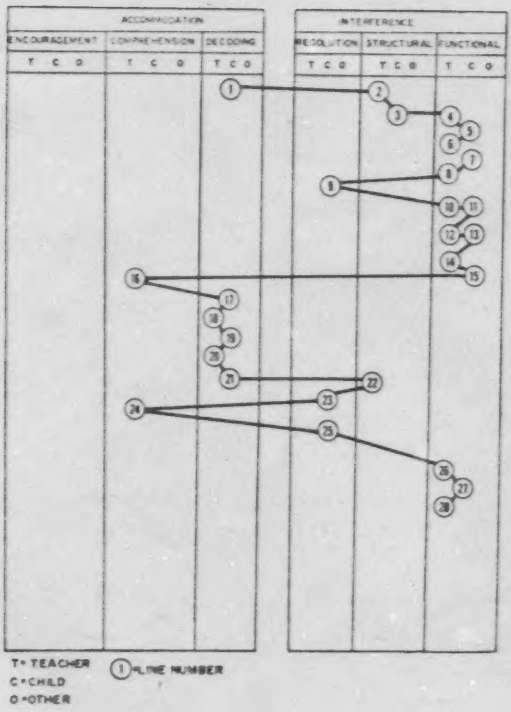


Fig. 5. Interrupting Approach--Episode 15 Outline.

Episode 25: He hide.

Context: Teacher is listening to a child read by himself. Other children are practicing reading by themselves or in pairs.

C_1 (1) 'Fire.'

T (2) Sound.

C_1 (3) 'Fa-rr.'

T (4) 'Rr.'

C_1 (5) 'Rr.'

T (6) 'Rr.' So what is it? Fa-- you don't play with it. It's what?

. . . . . .

C_1 (7) He-o-we-fa-er.

T (8) Uh huh; now say it quickly. Fa-- Uh huh, say it. I can't hear you.

C_1 (9) 'Fire.'

T (10) 'Fa-aa.'

C_1 (11) 'Fire.'

T (12) 'Fire,' uh huh, say it quickly.

C_1 (13) 'Fire.'

T (14) 'Fire,' 'Fire.'

C_1 (15) 'Fire.'

T (16) You don't play with fire, do you?

C_1 (17) He hu - ar - dee.

T (18) Dee.

C_1 (19) Da.

T (20) Da -- what?

C_1 (21) 'Hide.'

T (22) Put an 's' at the end.

C_1 (23) Hides.

T (24) Good. He what?

C_1 (25) 'He hides.'

T (26) Good, hides, hides.

C_1 (27) Hides.

T (28) Uh huh.

C_1 I know wha' (it is) but I'm not gonna tell ya.

T Now listen, Speedy, read this page.

C_1 My name not Speedy.

. . . . .

C_1 Sally walk--t to Paul--z hou'.

T Sally walked to Paul's house.

C_1 I don't need you to help me.

There is an interplay of structural and functional conflict which seems very discouraging to the children and the teacher. Insisting on participation led to frustration when the relationship between teachers and children was based on harsh, disinterested commands rather than on respect and interest.

The White Liberal sample episode outline in Figure 6 appears similar to the Black Artful one. Both include considerable encouragement and several participants. The differences are that the White Liberal episode is focused on content which seems peripheral to reading per se. The dialogue was a "warm-up" to interest children in drawing, then writing a lesson.

Another difference between Groups 4 and 5 is that each of the children's sentences in the White Liberal classroom was directed at the teacher. In the Black Artful classroom, children reached a level of involvement where they encouraged and added information

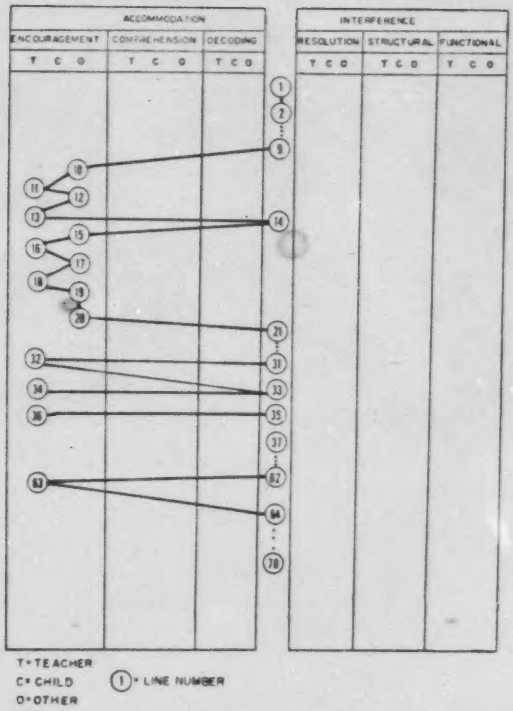


Fig. 6. White Liberal Approach--Episode 6 Outlines.

Note: Line numbers placed between Accommoeation and Interference columns refer to conversation not relevant to reading instruction.

Episode 6: It was biiig!

Context: A discussion preparing children to make illustrated stories.

C_1 (1) . . . but I didn' play, we play dat sometime with Booker, an' David play, an' we play run sometime _____, we play on swings an' sometime we goin' to the park --

[C_2 (2) Ms. X --]

C_1 (3) -- on our bikes.

[C_2 (4) -- can I have a drink of water?

T (5) In the middle of reading?

C_2 (6) Yeah.

T (7) Goodness.

C_2 (8) I thirsty, I _____.]

T (9) Now that, what Nicole has said just now, brought us to one of the things I wanted us to talk about this morning. She was talking about things you could do during this summer. And that's something I want us to talk about, because --

C_2 (10) Yeah!

T (11) -- it's almost summertime. And, you see, we have a big empty bulletin board over there; we took down the zoo animals.

C_3 (12) Let's make summer things.

T (13) Summer things?

C_3 (14) Yeah. Like goin' scuba (divin').

C_4 (15) Yeah!

T (16) Would you like to put _____?

$C_{5,6,7}$ (17) _____.

T (18) How about you, Sharon, would you like to put summer things up there?

C_3 (19) Everybody do!

CLASS (20) Yeah. Now, Teacher _____.

T (21) What are some of the summer things you could do? We have to do it one at a time or we can't hear anybody. Sharon?

C_3 (22) I (draw) a pretty sunny day.

T (23) A pretty sunny day. Do we have a lot of those in the summer in Oakland?

C_3 (24) Um-hm.

T (25) Yes we do, don't we.

C_4 (26) We got _____.

T (27) Kevin?

C_5 (28) We can play in the summer.

T (29) Play, um-hm. Yvette?

C_6 (30) We could go to Louisiana in summer

T (31) You could go to Louisiana, you sure could. I don't think I'm going to, though -- Rodney? -- but I think you are, aren't you?

C_1 (32) Somebody, they made a big swimmin' pool an', an' it's, it wa' biiig! You could even put a house up in there.

T (33) A house, in a swimming pool?

C_1 (34) Yeah.

T (35) (Laughs)

C_1 (36) It's big.

T (37) It's a big one! Do you think you might swim in a swimming pool?

C_1 (38) You have ta put somethin' down in it so, so, so, no dirt could get in your eyes.

T (39) What could you do in the summertime, Rodney?

C_7 (40) You could talk about woorrds.

T (41) You could talk about words. Yvette, what do you think you might do this summer?

C_8 (42) Go swimmin'.

T (43) Go swimming.

. . . . . .

T (44) Melissa?

C_9 (45) You could make a duck.

T (46) A duck. Where would you see a duck?

C_9 (47) In a pond.

T (48) Sharon?

C_{10} (49) Ms. X, I know one.

C_3 (50) Go to Hyde Point.

T (51) Go to Hyde Point? D' you think you might do that?

C_3 (52) Yeah. I'm go swimmin' when I get there.

T (53) Goood! Yvette?

C_6 (54) Put on your swimmin' trunks an' go swimmin'!

C_{10} (55) Go to the circus.

C (56) Ooh, yeah. I missed the circus act 'cause --

T (57) Can you think of things you could do right in your own backyard if you didn't go anywhere? Trevor?

C_{11} (58) You could swing.

T (59) Swing.

C_7 (60) Play circus.

T (61) You could play circus. Good idea, Rodney. That sounds like fun. Melissa?

C_9 (62) Play house.

. . . . . .

C_7 (63)Lay down in the tent at night an' listen ta things.

T (64)Ohh! That sounds like fun! We should use that good, big drawing paper, don't you think, for our bulletin board, and -- OK, Johnny, can you reach it? -- And then what we can do is you can make a picture on both sides, then we'll choose which side is different so we won't have all the same thing up there. Then we'll write what it's about, so that when people come in, like when the afternoon people come in they can read, they can read, what you've written.

CLASS(65)Can we? We gotta put things away for the summer. We gotta get things done and put 'em away!

C_{13} (66)Teacher -- When I come home, I gotta pack.

C_9 (67)Mx. X.

C_{13} (68)I gotta gold suitcase, that's mine.

C_{14} (69)When? Today?

C_{13} (70) I'm 'onna pack tomorrow, after this day.

for one another.

An outline of a sample episode for a teacher using a vocabulary emphasis in Figure 7 illustrates another pattern. A structural conflict occurred but was resolved directly between the teacher and the child who had the difficulty. The conflict was not an invention of the teacher but a mistaken meaning, which the teacher recognized and clarified. This group had significantly higher dialect scores than children in the Black Artful group. One hypothesis as to the reason for this is that children with teachers fluent in Black dialect were the only ones who had an adequate model for style switching. Vocabulary Emphasis teachers attended more to meanings than to surface features of speech and accepted divergent pronunciation. The vocabulary approach group was placed lower than Group 5 on the mutuality of communication dimension because the Black Artful group had uniquely lively interactions.

The groups with midrange dialect and reading scores were those with the Standard Pronunciation and Decoding Emphasis. Both of these groups focused on the surface features of speech, which may have helped children learn to read even though both structural and functional conflict occurred in sample episodes as shown in Figures 8 and 9. In neither style was much encouragement used and both focused mainly on one or

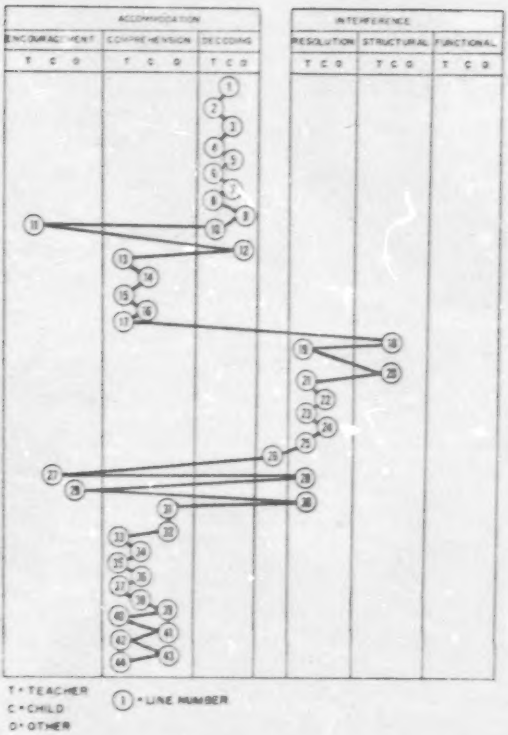


Fig. 7. Vocabulary Approach--Episode 18 Outline.

Episode 18: 'How could you harm the colt?' Tear it.

Context: Children are filling in workbook pages from the California State Series.

C_1 (1) I like the co-, colt. I will not --

T (2) Look up there and find a letter that would fit and make a word.

C_1 (3) 'E.' No, not --

T (4) You may not know it, but can you sound out the first three letters that are there?

C_1 (5) 'M.'

T (6) Somebody told you, but what, what does it start, the sound there; h-a-r, what sound would that have?

C_1 (7) 'Hhh.'

T (8) Now get the -- (Points to ar.)

C_2 (9) 'Here,' 'har.'

C_1 (10) 'Hollo,' 'harm,' 'harm.'

T (11) 'Harm.' Good, you sounded it out, very good, 'harm.' Do you know what harm means?

C_3 (12) I _____. I wanna read.

T (13) Well, let's talk about harm for a minute.

C_1 (14) OK.

T (15) What does 'harm' mean?

C_1 (16) Chew on th' pencil.

T (17) (Laughs.) You harm the pencil, yes. But what would you do, you wouldn't chew the colt; how would you harm a colt?

C_1 (18) Tear it.

T (19) Huh?

C_1 (20) Tear it.

T (21) Th, th- Oh! Do you, do you know what a colt is, now?

C_1 (22) Oh, kill it, kill it.

T (23) No, what's a colt?

C_1 (24) Somethin' you wear.

T (25) There's a 'l' in it. 'Coat' is c-o-a-- Ah, don't laugh, that's all right. Colt is very hard for city children because they haven't been out on the farm, and they don't know about it. It's a baby, a baby colt.

C_3 (26) A baby colt.

C_1 (27) Oh, yeah!

T (28) Remember your story? An' it's c-o-l-t, colt. 'Coat' is c-o-a-t, and it's no 'l' in it, but listen to -- Keisha -- col, colt, colt. Now, do you know what a colt is?

C_4 (29) Yeah, I know.

T (30) What is it?

C_2 (31) It's a baby horse.

C_4 (32) A baby horse.

T (33) Yes, uh-uh-, how could you harm a baby horse?

C_1 (34) You shoot it.

T (35) Heh, you c--, that would certainly harm it. But harm doesn't always mean being killed.

C_1 (36) You try to get on it an' ride it.

T (37) Well, if it weren't ready, yes. If it were too young to ride.

C_1 (38) It'll fall.

C_4 (39) If it were a big one you could ride it.

T (40) If it were big, yeah. If it weren't ready to ah, be ridden on. You could harm him by hitting him.

C_5 (41) Hitting him.

T (42) Not feeding him. Not taking care of him would harm him, too.

C_6 (43) Not giving him enough water.

T (44) Yes, not getting enough water. Is that the last one? No, there's another one.

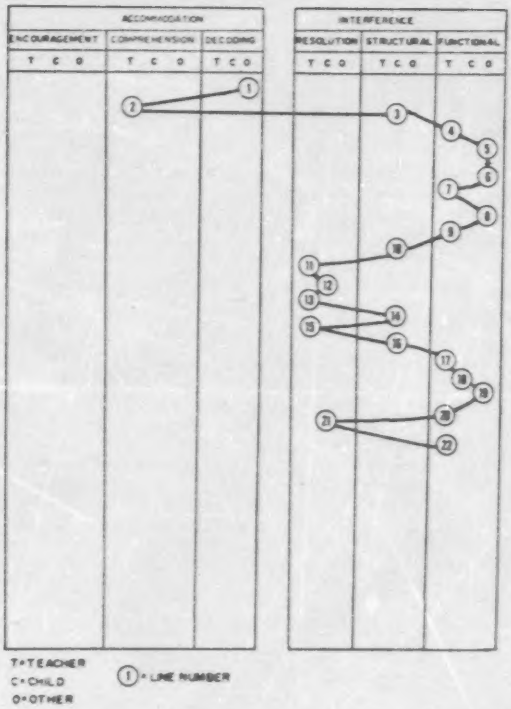


Fig. 8. Decoding Approach--Episode 17 Outline.

Episode 17: The win' blow.

Context: Children are seated around a large table, making up sentences to clarify words printed on cards. The teacher has heard talks on Black Dialect.

CLASS(1) 'Win.'

T (2) Who can give me a sentence with 'win?'

C_1 (3) A boy win a race.

T (4) A boy win a race?

C_2 (5) I know teacher.

C_3 (6) I know teacher.

T (7) Hmm, that sounds --

C_4 (8) Teacher, I know one.

T (9) -- Can you say that a little better, so it sounds -- I understand what you mean, but Erndalyn, what, how would you say that?

C_5 (10) The win' blew the hat off of my frien' head.

T (11) OK, that's what 'win' sounds like, huh. But this is the kind of 'win' when, when you beat somebody else, when you win a race, OK? The other word, I'll show you how it's spelled. What word is this, Erndalyn? (Teacher writes 'win' and 'wind' on the board.) Do you know? This is 'wind,' OK? And this the kind of 'win' that we're talking about. This has a --

C (12) 'D.'

T (13) What ' on the end?

C_6 (14) A silent 'd.'

T (15) A 'd.' It's hard to hear.

$C_{6,7}$ (16) it's a silent 'd'!

T (17) Well, it's not really, really silent, but it's just really hard to hear. It's there. Sometimes we can say it so we can hear it. Can you hear the name of it? Did you hear the 'd' then? And we usually, sometimes we usually don't say it, but it's there, so Erndalyn, what does this, make a sentence with this kind of 'win.'

C_5 (18) I, I, I mean, I, I can win th' race. I win the race.

C_7 (19) I know.

T (20) How about 'I will win the race'? OK?

C_5 (21) I <u>will</u> win the race.

T (22) OK, pretty good. OK, this one.

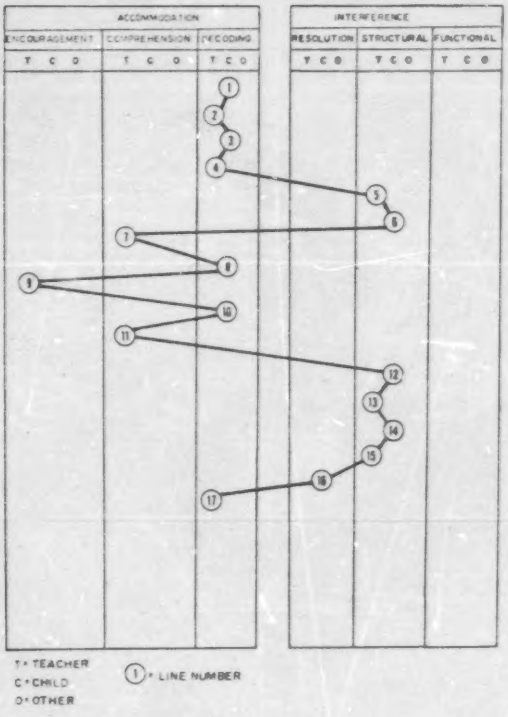


Fig. 9. Standard Pronunciation Approach--
Episode 35 Outline.

Episode 35: What vowel sound do you hear?

Context: Children are filling in its workbook pages which call for identification of vowel sounds.

C_1 (1) 'Say the words in unit 26 and 27. Listen for the vowel soun'. Write the word that has the vowel soun' you hear in pin. (Pictured in workbook.)

T (2) All right. What vowel sound do you hear in pin?

C_1 (3) 'Ih?'

T (4) Right. OK. Now you look up there and you find the word that -- Stop that, Ralph.

. . . . . .

T (5) Wait a minute, wait, wait to do it. Tommy, watchoo call this, over here? Hmm? (Points to picture of a chain.)

C_2 (6) Mm-mm-mm. (The 'I don't know' hum.)

T (7) Well, don't write a sound when you don't know what to call it. It's a chain, OK? Right. And what sound do you need to write?

C_2 (8) $\bar{A}$.

T (9) Good, yeah, right. Change that thing, Tammy.

C_2 (10) I changed it.

. . . . . .

T (11) What is this? (Points to picture of a bed.)

C_3 (12) A bayed.

T (13) OK, what's the vowel sound in bed?

C_3 (14) 'Ih/$\bar{A}$.'

T (15) No, that would be $\bar{b}\breve{a}\bar{d}e$, $\bar{b}\breve{e}\breve{e}\breve{d}$. What comes right after the 'b' in bed?

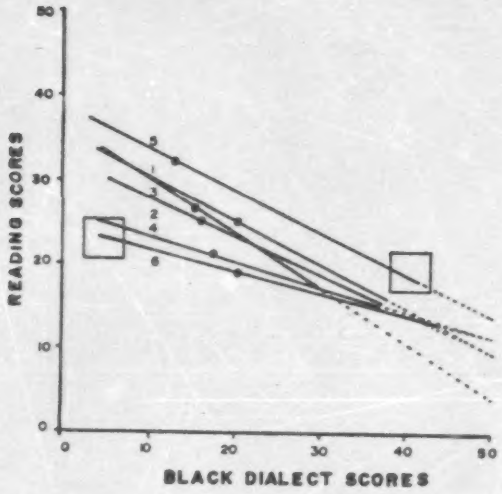
C_3 (16) 'E?'

T (17) Right. Now write all the words that have the 'e' sound.

two children. The Decoding Emphasis group had a task orientation complimentary to the Vocabulary Emphasis group; neither group completely excluded nor thoroughly encouraged both comprehension and decoding aspects of reading.

The Standard Pronunciation group spent a great deal of time focusing on correct speech rather than on reading. This emphasis proved ineffective for decreasing dialect use, at least in the sentence repetition task. The slope of the regression line for Group 3 indicates that in Standard Pronunciation Emphasis classrooms, high dialect use was associated with lower reading scores for this group slightly more than for other groups. If the Group 3 regression line were extended, extremely low reading scores would be associated with high dialect use, as in Figure 10.

Teachers in this group seemed thorough and systematic. A "pressing" for continual attention and effort was evident in both this group and in the Black Artful group, in contrast to a more relaxed atmosphere in other groups. Conflicts seemed to be artifacts of the teachers' model of correct speech, but the teachers were consistent in resolving conflicts. The teachers were explicitly aware of Black dialect forms and clear about their demands on children. The interrupting group seemed similar in rejecting dialect forms, but



GROUP 1: VOCABULARY APPROACH
2. DECODING APPROACH
3. STANDARD PRONUNCIATION APPROACH
4. WHITE LIBERAL APPROACH
5. BLACK ARTFUL APPROACH
6. INTERRUPTING APPROACH
• MEAN SCORES

Fig. 10. Extended Regression Lines for Six Teaching Styles.

Note: Children with the highest dialect scores in in Group 5 have reading scores approximately equivalent to children with the lowest dialect scores in Group 6. (Indicated by at the ends of regression lines for Groups 5 and 6).

Solid lines indicate the regression lines for actual scores; broken lines show the extension of these lines.

the Group 6 teachers were unaware of dialect as a system and seemed confused by or disapproving of the Black speakers as well as by their irregular speech. The decoding and standard pronunciation emphasis sample episodes differ in who resolved conflict. In "decoding" classrooms, the teacher, unaware of dialect per se, did not resolve conflicts as they did in Group 3. The children resolved the episode by adjusting to the standard form.

One limitation of this study is that no pretests were used. If children from low socioeconomic backgrounds were grouped together, lower reading scores might be expected for that group. Table 21 shows the distribution of teachers grouped by style from each school along with indicators of socioeconomic status (SES) for the schools. The distribution suggests that there was no concentration of low or high SES children in any of the teaching style groups. It is also interesting that reading mean scores for the schools are lower than the city and national norms. The mean of reading scores for Group 5 (Black-Artful Group) was considerably higher than the national norm. This cannot be accounted for by the mean scores of schools where the Black-Artful group taught.

Table 21

Reading Achievement, Socioeconomic Indicators and Teaching Style Ratings by School

School	Reading Achievement Test Scores[1]		Socioeconomic Indicators			Teaching Style Ratings[4]					
	Gr. 3	Gr. 6	% Children from AFDC[2] Families	% Children Receiving Free Lunches	Median Income[3]	1	2	3	4*	5*	6*
1	4.3	5.3	41.0	55.7	$ 7950			2		1	
2	3.2	5.4	40.0	88.0	5000		1		1		1
3	3.5	5.3	49.1	39.0	8522	2			1		1
4	3.4	4.7	49.8	45.2	7665		1		1	1	1
City	4.1	6.6	39.7	38.3	9626						

[1]Grade equivalent, third quarter.

[2]Aid to Families of Dependent Children.

[3]1970 Census.

[4]Number of teachers from each school rated as having teaching styles described in Chapter III, numbers which are starred are those with significantly different reading or dialect score.

Teaching Styles Related to Accommodation and Interference

The dimensions used to contrast teaching styles can also be used to relate the styles to Accommodation and Interference. Style 5 is clearly accommodating; Style 0 is clearly interfering. The other styles are closer to the diagonal line dividing accommodation and interference planes. Accommodation is used in the episode outlines as involving children in reading, encouraging them to decode and comprehend printed symbols. Interference is defined as letting dialect become an obstacle which detracts children from reading. These constructs are still very broad.

Which factors contribute most to reading success or failure for Black children could not be determined in this study. Comparisons of the teaching styles are exploratory impressions rather than controlled empirical findings. The findings of this study suggest several areas for further research. First, the episode categories used to define teaching styles for the quantitative analysis could be validated using a different set of teachers and observers. Administering pretests for both reading and dialect would also give more information on whether teaching styles actually contributed to changing scores differentially.

The correlation between dialect scores and reading scores for first graders is also an area that

could be investigated with more controls. It seems likely that both Black dialect and reading covary with socioeconomic status. Factors such as perceptual acuity and test taking skills and attitudes should be controlled in such investigations. The dialect scores used in this study were selected to indicate dialect use in a structured setting. An earlier study by the investigator suggests that dialect use in the sentence repetition task differs from dialect use in free speech or in a classroom setting. The sentence repetition task is easy to administer and might approximate a competence measure, but there is insufficient evidence to make generalizations about dialect use in general and first graders' reading from this study.

The teachers observed in this study seemed to fit in six teaching style groups. These might be useful to describe integrated or even non-Black classrooms. The styles also may be associated with personality, attitude, or teaching skills which are not readily changeable. Information about effective teaching in predominantly Black classrooms may be more useful for selecting teachers than for training. It would probably be feasible to instruct teachers in potential dialect conflicts, but much harder to suggest effective strategies for dealing with them artfully. Minimal awareness of dialect items may lead teachers to focus unduly on these differences. Children may be

sufficiently versatile in their language skills to overcome misunderstanding. A more crucial factor may be the teachers's respect for children, which is a basis for clear communication and for believing children will learn to read, if they are really taught.

Summary

In this chapter, six teaching styles were contrasted; task orientation and mutuality of communication provided the framework for comparison. Analysis of the interaction patterns typical of each teaching style provided another. The groups which differed most, Group 5 (Black-Artful) and Group 6 (Interrupting), also were those with significantly different reading scores. Group 5 teachers had lively discussions which focused on the lesson while Group 6 interactions involved functional conflict and distraction from the task of reading.

Socioeconomic indicators for the four schools in the study showed that there was no concentration of low SES children in classrooms for the teachers placed in any teaching style group.

The extension of the regression line for Group 3 (Standard Pronunciation) teachers suggested tentatively that used with children who speak dialect a great deal, might lead to very low reading scores. Suggestios for further research on dialect, reading and teaching style

included using new subjects for an investigation similar to this one with more controls.

Chapter V

Conclusions

This investigation used descriptive data, episodes from reading instruction, to show the kinds of structural and functional interference which occur while dialect-speaking children are learning to read, and to describe six styles teachers use to handle dialect differences. Observations suggest that while interference in learning to read does occur for Black dialect-speaking first graders, teachers can prevent or help to quickly resolve it. Teachers can also precipitate and intensify structural and functional conflict.

The study used quantitative data, reading and Black dialect scores, to determine which of the teaching styles identified proved more effective. Reading scores of children taught by one group, the Black Artful teachers, were significantly higher than those of children taught by other groups, the Interrupting and White Liberal teachers. The Black dialect scores of children in the Black Artful group were also significantly lower than those of children in the Interrupting or Vocabulary Emphasis group. No style was found to be more effective specifically for children with high dialect scores.

The results suggest that the ways teachers

communicate in the classroom are crucial to children's success in learning to read. Efforts to find deficits in children or to focus on their language differences may only confound the problems of negative teacher expectations and evade the problem of functional conflict between teachers and children with different cultural backgrounds. Teachers can alienate children from learning by subtly rejecting their Black speech. They can discourage them by implying by tone, gesture and even by silence that the children lack potential. Children, in turn, can show their resilience by engaging in verbal play and ritual insult apart from the teacher, or they can withdraw into a moody silence. Neither strategy helps them learn to read.

Teachers can also involve children in learning to read in a way that capitalizes on their lively speech. They can deal with confusion as it arises without dwelling on language differences. This requires the kind of attentiveness shown by the Black Artful teachers, who seemed to thoroughly understand their Black students, and to have no difficulty teaching them to read. This was not simply a matter of ethnic similarity. Not all the Black teachers in the study were in the Black Artful group. What made these teachers so effective seems worth investigating further. The techniques and perspectives of sociolinguistic research would probably prove more useful in answering this question than the

interaction analysis methods commonly used in current investigations of teacher competencies.

Black children's reading failure has been a critical problem for some time. Most of the approaches to solving it have not worked. While this study is exploratory and cannot suggest ways of solving reading problems, it can suggest that dialect interference, especially functional conflict between teachers and children, be investigated further to help find ways of improving Black children's reading.

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Appendix A

Features of Black Dialect

1. Variations in phonology

a. th changed to t, d, f, v

thing	ting
nothing	nofing
then	den
bathe	bave

b. Final consonants reduced, deleted

mom	ma	(nasalized)
boot	boo	(glottal stop)
feed	feet	(devoiced)
road	roa	
kiss	ki	(weakened)
has	ha	
man	ma	(nasalized)
kick	ki	(glottal stop)
gag	gak	(devoiced)
bag	bay	

c. L deleted

toll	toe
help	hep

d. R replaced or deleted

sore	so
marry	may

e. Consonant clusters simplified

stream	scream	past	pass
shrimp	simp	mind	mine
throw	thow	sift	sif
professor	pofessa	sold	sow
		vats	vas

f. Vowels modified

fear	fare	raw	row
pin	pen	time	tom
poor	pore	joy	jaw
sure	shore	proud	prod

2. Variations in morphology

a. Plural

tests	tesez
men	mens
kittens	kitten

b. Possessive

Tom's book	Tom book
their friend	they friend

c. Third person singular present

she talks	she talk
he is	he be
he has	he have
he does	he do

d. Past tense

passed	pass

e. Irregular verb classes

I said	I say
he takes	he taken
He is sick.	He be sick.
He isn't here.	He ain't here.

f. Auxiliary verbs

Fred'll be coming.	Fred be coming

g. Comparative adjectives

She's smarter.	She more smarter.

3. Variations in syntax

a. Adjectives used as adverbs

He talks real good.

b. Pronoun variation

My father, he walk sharp.

c. Assignment to word classes: have, be, do

I got me a tow truck.
I been there.

d. Patterns - habitual action

He will be sick. He sick.

e. Count nouns and mass nouns

I seen three police.

f. Prepositional phrases

That there child

g. Modal modification

They useta could beat ya.

h. Future markers

I'm a throw it.
He be comin' tomorrow.

i. Transformations of "there," negative questions, passive.

They a lot of people here.
I ain't care.
Nobody won't do nothing.
Can't nobody help you.
Why you don't know?
How they know?

j. Clauses: noun, adjectival

I don't know is he there.
The place where I lived at.

Appendix B

Sentence Repetition Task

Directions: Listen carefully. I'm going to say some sentences. You say them after me, one at a time. When we're through you can hear yourself on the tape recorder. Are you ready? You say the sentence after me.

Sentences:

Sometimes after school I watch television.

My friend has a little kitten.

Charles said he'd be in the class after lunch.

Here's what I like.

His father dresses up and walks around in his knickerbockers.

My daddy wears boots when we go fishing.

My brother is five years old because his birthday passed.

I found a whole bunch of weeds at the park.

I'd say, take off that mask.

I'll pick him up and throw him out.

My teacher is going to take us to the zoo.

We're going to see an alligator and a garter snake and a hippopotamus.

Appendix C

Classroom Episodes Illustrating Accommodation of Reading Instruction and Dialect Interference

Format

The episodes are brief excerpts from reading instruction in first grade classrooms. They are arranged in the same sequence as the episode categories. Heading each section of episodes is the category description, accommodation on the left, followed by sample episodes and interference on the right.

For episodes from each main section (e.g., 1.0 Spontaneous Speech) there is one side of a cassette tape. Numbers after the episode titles indicate the position where the episode can be located on the cassettes.

Several notations are used to promote clarity. When two conversations are going on simultaneously, for example, when a teacher aide is audible helping a child in the background, the nonfocal interchanges are recorded in brackets. A solid line indicates that what is being said was unclear, as when two or three children are speaking at once. When a brief segment has been lost during recording or editing, it is written in, bounded by parentheses. Identification of the speaker is abbreviated as follows:

T Teacher

C_1 Child first to speak

C_2 Child second to speak

TA Teacher aide

ST Student teacher

I Investigator

Time lapse, as when a teacher leaves briefly to answer the phone, is indicated by a series of spaced dots. A few actions, such as writing on the board, are described in parentheses.

The transcript is intended as a listening guide, not a phonetic representation of speech. Episodes often occur very rapidly, so reading the episode category and context, and even the transcript, prior to listening to the tape could facilitate an understanding of the episode. Casette tapes of these episodes are on file at the Educational Media Center at the University of California at Berkeley.

LIST OF CLASSROOM EPISODES

		1.0 Spontaneous Speech		
1.1	1.	And his teeth is yellow; he don't have no moon sucks! 000-050	3.	Sometime my mama call it a rat. 070-104
	2.	Big fat dogs feed they rabies. 051-069	4.	I ain't gonna read this page again. 105-148
			5.	Doun-hous-doun-hous 149-189
1.2	6.	It was bilig! 192-273	8.	What's it do with flies? 295-317
	7.	Was this a true story? 274-294	9.	Whatchoo say, Elsie? 318-324
1.3	10.	Plan-ta-tion. Open your mouths and speak! 326-390	14.	You are little, but not too little. 452-456
	11.	Whaya gonna do at the beauty parlor; you're already beautiful. 390-397		
	12.	You do love it, huh! 397-414		
	13.	Where is the voice? Can you see it? 414-451		
1.4	15.	Yeah, but it ain't no pencils in 'ere. 458-466		
		2.0 Instructional Speech		
2.1	16.	What's a crust? 012-084	17.	The win' blew. 093-132
2.2	18.	How could you harm the colt? Tear it. 136-185	19.	I'm cothing all day. 187-238
2.3	20.	Orbit. Do you know what that means? 240-256	21.	Ssaw. What letter is that? Ssss. 258-271
2.4	22.	She heard the army band. 275-325	25.	He hide. 421-441
	23.	He say my father walk sharp. 325-383	26.	A what? No! 441-456
			27.	What, you don't know! 456-462
	24.	What woulda you have done? 383-417	28.	'G', now put the 'r'. 462-479
		3.0 Reading Instruction		
3.1	29.	What's on the back of a 'tub'? 010-044	34.	Bell. Now write Bill. 210-232
	30.	How would you write mnmake? 'M-a-y'. 044-078	35.	What vowel sound do you hear in pin? 232-261
	31.	I feed my dog. I tickle my feet. 078-129	36.	Don't change my sound. 268-314
	32.	I pick me' at the park. 129-176	37.	'The ant slid into the river.' 268-314
	33.	'Jacket,' j-a-c-k-e-t. 176-207		

3.2	38.	You have to put the 'r' sound on the end if you want to know how to spell it. 319-333	42.	Look at the world don't just choose.	397-436
	39.	They thanksand God. 333-342			
	40.	They put this ending on it. 342-356			
	41.	Can you put it together? 356-392			
3.3	43.	The maison get da rotten when company come. 440-479	46.	There will be a big fist.	547-591
	44.	Wades -- He waves at them. 479-505	47.	A brugle?	591-614
	45.	What do you suppose a fireboat is? 505-544			

4.0 Oral Reading

4.1	48.	I wa' no' hunred year ole 012-094	49.	Axed one of the men.	099-120
			50.	Look at my tongue.	120-139
			51.	What did John mother do?	139-212
			52.	Skate; skated. Skate; skated.	212-239
			53.	Blow, Bridget, Blow.	239-265
			54.	I still didn't hear that ending; do it again, please.	265-282
4.2	55.	Par', like you par' your car. 209-397	57.	Ponda; beautiful. Say it again.	415-429
	56.	It starts like walk . . . 397-412	58.	First I said 'atory', then you asked me that word again.	429-454
4.3	59.	You're not even thinkin'. 458-489	60.	We f-in-d a s-t-rai-aym.	492-508
			61.	I'm sayin' the sounds.	508-535

5.0 Reading Materials

5.1	62.	I got me a toe truck. 010-146	64.	It mean goin' bye and bye.	177-217
	63.	'I Like Summer' by Mary Mary Tyler Tyler. 146-174			
5.2	65.	Clickety-clack, down the track. 220-237	67.	Frighten. Again. Frighten. Again.	253-287
	66.	You silly kittens. 237-251	68.	He play his brugle.	287-321
5.3	69.	Mark was as cross as a bear. 323-341	70.	What's different about it?	345-363
5.4	71.	Clouds are full of surprises. 366-382	72.	How many of you have seen a meadow?	384-432
			73.	The girl with curls.	432-447

A Transcript of Classroom Episodes is available from the Language Behavior Research Laboratory, University of California, Berkeley.

Appendix D

Auxiliary Tables

Table 5

Analysis of Variance for Multiple Linear Regression: Reading and Dialect Scores of Accommodation Group

Source	df	MS	F	R
Due to regression	1	1892.48	21.66*	.417
Deviation about regression	103	87.37		

*$p < .05$.

Table 6

Analysis of Variance for Multiple Linear Regression: Reading and Dialect Scores of Interference Group

Source	df	MS	F	R
Due to regression	1	1676.66	27.37*	.462
Deviation about regression	101	61.26		

*p < .05

Table 10

Analysis of Variance for Multiple Linear Regression: Reading and Dialect Scores for Teacher Style, Group 1 (Vocabulary Emphasis)

Source	df	MS	F	R
Due to regression	1	703.65	5.17*	.395
Deviation about regression	28	136.15		

*$p < .05$

Table 11

Analysis of Variance for Multiple Linear Regression: Reading and Dialect Scores for Teacher Style, Group 2 (Decoding Emphasis)

Source	df	MS	F	R
Due to regression	1	340.84	4.42*	.381
Deviation about regression	27	77.19		

*$p < .05$

Table 12

Analysis of Variance for Multiple Linear Regression: Reading and Dialect Scores for Teaching Style, Group 3 (Pronunciation Emphasis)

Source	df	MS	F	R
Due to regression	1	602.06	11.47*	.539
Deviation about regression	28	52.47		

*$p < .05$

Table 13

Analysis of Variance for Multiple Linear Regression: Reading and Dialect Scores for Teaching Style, Group 4 ("Rapport" Approach)

Source	df	MS	F	R
Due to regression	1	255.50	4.40*	.305
Deviation about regression	43	58.08		

*p < .05

Table 14

Analysis of Variance for Multiple Linear Regression: Reading and Dialect Scores for Teaching Style, Group 5 (Black-Artful Approach)

Source	df	MS	F	R
Due to regression	1	579.88	16.34*	.607
Deviation about regression	28	35.50		

*$p < .05$

Table 15

Analysis of Variance for Multiple Linear Regression: Reading and Dialect Scores for Teaching Style, Group 6 (Interrupting Approach)

Source	df	MS	F	R
Due to regression	1	228.49	4.88*	.319
Deviation about regression	43	49.80		

*p < .05

Appendix E

Classification of Interference Episodes

1. Structural Conflict

a. Phonological

Episodes	3	35	51	19
	9	36	53	58
	26	37	54	
	34	50	57	

b. Grammatical

Episodes	8	25	52
	17	49	67

2. Functional Conflict

a. Teachers alienated from children

Episodes	14	28	72
	21	64	73

b. Children alienated from teachers and materials

Episodes	4	46	61
	5	47	68
	42	60	

Appendix F

Episode Categories and Teaching Styles

Episodes were initially categorized in order to relate them to the kinds of dialect interference and teacher accommodation proposed in the literature.

The first step in categorizing episodes was to note all relevant categories, those reflecting appropriateness of materials used, speech register, and content emphasis. The second step was to select one category which best described an episode. The third step was to sort the episodes, and change their placement so that as many categories as possible could be covered. The question was whether interference of each type occurred at all, not how frequently it occurred. Teaching styles were later formulated by grouping similar teachers, then analyzing what they had in common. The episode category descriptions served as a guide.

Episodes for each teacher were listed in a matrix. First, episodes for each teacher within a group were listed by episode categories. In cases where every teacher within a group had episodes in a common category, the category was noted as characteristic of that teaching style. Second, the episodes were examined again to see if any could be recategorized. For example, when two out of three teachers had episodes in a category such as 2.1 (emphasized ending sounds) and this seemed typical of a particular style, the investigator looked for evidence that the third

teacher had an episode which could also fit in to that category. This seemed appropriate since the first categorization was made to show a range of behaviors rather than to place an episode in the single best category. Table 22 shows the episodes which were placed in a second category.

Table 23 shows the episodes of teachers in each of the teaching style groups. The episodes are arranged to show how all the teachers within one group have some episode categories in common. These common categories describe the teaching style.

Table 24 lists the category descriptions for the six teaching styles.

Table 22

Episodes Placed in a Second Category for Definition of Six Teaching Styles

Style	Teacher/Episode		1st Category	2nd Category
1	(b)	#67	4.2A	3.3A
2	(c)	#68	5.2I	4.3I
4	(i)	#16	2.1A	1.3A
5	(j)	#13	1.3A	1.1A
	(k)	#24	2.4A	1.3A
6	(l)	#42	3.2I	5.4I
	(n)	#21	2.3I	3.2I

Table 23

Episodes from Each Teacher Listed by Episode Category and Teaching Style

Teaching Style:[1]	1		2		3		4			5		6		
Teachers:[2]	D	G	K	H	I	N	B	C	F	A	E	L	M	J
Episode Category:	1.0 Episodes: Spontaneous Speech													
1.1A[3]		g[4]					b			(a)[5]	ee[5]			
I[3]						n						ll		
1.2A						n	b	(c)						
I		s				n			f					
1.3A							b	c	(f)	(a)a	(e)			
I														j
1.4A														
I														
	2.0 Episodes: Instantaneous Speech													
2.1A		g					bb	c	f		e			
I					j	n							mm	
2.2A	d							c						
I														
2.3A												l		
I														j
2.4A										a	ee			
I				h								l	m	jjj

Table 23 (continued)

Teaching Styles:	1		2		3		4			5		6		
Teachers:	D	G	K	H	I	N	B	C	F	A	E	L	M	J
Episode Category:	3.0 Episodes: Reading Instruction													
3.1A				h			b	c	f	a	egg			
I			kk	hh			b							
3.2A			kkk	h						a				
I												i	m	(j)
3.3A	d	(g)		h						a	e			
I			kk											
	4.0 Episodes: Oral Reading													
4.1A		g					b							
I					iii	nn				aa				
4.2A	d	gg						c						
I						nn		c						
4.3A										a				
I			(k)	hh										
	5.0 Episodes: Reading Materials													
5.1A		g					b	c	fff			1		j
I														
5.2A							b				e			
I			k	h										
5.3A	d													
I			k											
5.4A				h										
I									f			(l)	m	j

Table 23 (continued)

[1]Teaching Style:

1 Vocabulary Approach
2 Decoding Approach
3 Standard Pronunciation Approach
4 White Liberal Approach
5 Black Artful Approach
6 Interruption Approach

[2]Capital letters designate teachers as shown in Tables 2 and 20.

[3]A = Accommodation
I = Interference

[4]Lower case letters designate each teacher's episodes.

[5]Parentheses ( ) mark episodes which were recategorized.

Table 24

Episode Categories Describing Teaching Styles

1. Vocabulary Emphasis

   a. Accommodation

      3.3 Teacher uses familiar word in instruction; checks to see whether words used are familiar to children; teaches meanings of unfamiliar words and concepts; uses examples and clues to which children respond appropriately.

      4.2 When children read isolated words in dialect, teacher listens carefully to determine whether the words were identified correctly; asks children for a sentence if the distinction is not clear; provides alternate words asking which the child meant; provides context clues to clarify word meaning; writes alternate words of homonym pair to clarify distinctions.

2. Decoding Emphasis

   a. Accommodation

      3.2 Teacher reinforces sound-symbol correspondence by emphasizing decoding skills; gives special attention to ending sounds and medial vowels; children consistently attempt to sound out words.

   b. Interference

      3.1 Teacher does not train children to listen for Standard English distinctions; presents isolated sounds of Standard English for identification without insuring accuracy of children's responses.

      4.3 Teacher accepts flat, choppy production of sounds during oral reading; children's voices while reading indicate that they are decoding without comprehending.

5.2 Teacher uses materials which elicit choppy, stilted speech in reading.

3. Standard Pronunciation Emphasis

a. Interference

2.1 Teacher insists on formal standard usage during instruction, interrupting the continuity of the lesson; loses children's interest or attention by asking them to repeat several times; devotes considerable time during reading instruction to changing language patterns.

4.1 When children read sentences in dialect, teacher interrupts, speaks before children have a chance to respond, talks over children; interprets dialect pronunciations as reading errors.

4. White Liberal Approach

a. Accommodation

1.3 Teacher's speech includes features of Black English intonation, phonology, vocabulary or grammar.

2.1 Teacher accepts dialect pronunciation during instruction; focuses on reading lesson rather than on changing speech patterns; provides standard English alternate only if necessary to clarify an instructional issue.

3.1 Teacher gives auditory discrimination training; uses unambiguous syntatic cues when presenting dialect homonyms; elicits correct responses.

5.1 Teacher uses Black children's notes, stories, or other materials which accurately represent their speech in teaching reading.

Table 24 (continued)

5. Black Artful Approach

a. Accommodation

1.1 Teacher expresses appreciation of artful dialect forms by winking, nodding and smiling with children, or by entering into verbal play with them.

1.3 Teacher's speech includes features of Black English intonation, phonology, vocabulary or grammar.

2.4 Teacher encourages children to speak; listens to their responses; allows them to state answers and questions fully; acknowledges responses affirmatively; children ask questions, give responses and make comments enthusiastically.

3.1 Teacher gives auditory discrimination training; uses unambiguous syntatic cues when presenting dialect homonyms; elicits correct responses.

3.3 Teacher uses familiar words in instruction; checks to see whether words used are familiar to children; teaches meanings of unfamiliar words and concepts; uses examples and clues to which children respond appropriately.

6. Interrupting Approach

a. Interference

2.4 Teacher anticipates responses, interrupts children when they speak, talks over them; repeats what they have said in a standard English, correcting tone of voice; children speak very softly and as seldom as possible; teacher does almost all the talking.

3.2 Teacher discourages use of word attack skills by supplying sounds or context clues before children have had a chance to decode symbols; asks children to identify sounds from an inappropriate

Table 24 (continued)

standard English model; considerable wild guessing occurs.

5.4 Teacher uses reading materials with considerable unfamiliar content; explanations interrupt the continuity of the lesson; children's responses indicate that word meanings were not clarified; that materials are not appealing.